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THE UNPRAGMATIC TRUTH

THOMAS PERCIVAL BEYER

THREE hundred years ago Lord Bacon wrote a popular little essay on TRUTH, with no restrictions. Since then few human creatures, excepting the high-school orator and the academic philosopher, have shown the hardihood to approach the subject directly. But, unfortunately, these two prophets are equally abstruse. When the valedictorian gets old enough to interpret his meaning simply to simple people, he has forgotten about Truth, or lost interest; and by the time Smiglicius has been dead long enough to be understood by his disciples, Truth has changed her attire and his identification will not fit.

Aside from these transcendental expeditions some few human documents do skirt timidly the borders of Truth. Stray drippings came out of the straw Oliver Wendell Holmes got into the bung-hole of the Universe; Mark Twain juggled more or less seriously with the question, "Is a lie ever justifiable?"; Zola wrote an essay with some skeleton characters, on the problem of Church and State in France, and called it *La Vérité;* Augustine Birrell in some pococurantic remarks on *Truth-Hunting* appears to imply that, because certain "good" souls like Cardinal Newman missed Truth in their search for her, therefore the search is always unavailing, and the anxious Truth-Seekers are the most obtuse in moral discriminations; while other recent writers, especially the Pragmatists, perform various and intricate acts of prestidigitation with the matter.

Even these gentlemen approach the subject delicately with very long tongs. Now Truth is the one thing above all others

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that should not be dealt with conventionally or on ceremony. Yet to it we bow with greatest unction and say the most pretty nothings to and of. For instance, we rejoice: "Truth is mighty and will prevail"; whereas we know in calm certainty that, unless we all fight viciously on her side, she will be "crushed to earth." The earliest and most transparent of the white lies concerning Truth is that Truth is simple. In the first twilight of reason somebody hazarded that Truth was simple and straight; and ever since, men have been remarking that Truth is simple and straight. Now it may be that in the days when "Adam and Eve ete apples unrosted," Truth was a simple and unsophisticated damsel. Morality, at all events, was not the complicated thing it is now. Still no one who has ever agonized over noumena and phenomena, things as they are and things as they seem, can doubt that to-day Truth is crooked and complex.

There is a vast difference between a truth in the case and the Truth of the case.

Even a truth in the case is not so easy to come at. "Two and two make four, not some of the time, but all of the time." Yes, but do we know what two is, or what things are two? And if that could be settled, do we know that nothing besides two and two is entering the sum we happen to be computing? Ten years ago, if a man openly opposed great corporate interests, we believed him the servant of his convictions. To-day we are not so sure. The name of public virtue has become popular and the motives and methods of the man who damns the trusts may be as damnable as they. It is because "facts are facts" that truths are so hard to come at, for some fact that escapes a Bausch and Lomb investigation may unhinge a syllogism.

But granted the possibility of getting by means of more or less perfect, more or less imperfect induction, some truths in the case: these truths in the case may, indeed, be straight—that is, there is a theoretical possibility of perfection in them. But the Truth of the case is the circle made up of all these numberless straight truths, each of which is barely more than a point in the circumference of the circle. Now, as there is an infinite number of truths in the case, each a straight line in the periphery of the Truth of the Case, it follows from plane geometry that there

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must be an infinite number of angles,—of intersections before these straight lines meet. Each truth in the case, or the plane of each truth in the case, crosses the planes of two other truths, one on each side; contradicts in a sense every other truth in the case, —at least, if prolonged indefinitely in an undeviating line, departs further and further from the direction of all other truths in the case;—and the rounded whole, the infinite-sided perimeter, the Truth of the case, is—a perfect circle, the crookedest thing in the universe.

II

The Straight Way

Every man or woman who can look back upon a proper apprenticeship remembers the chart illustrations of the "strait and narrow way"—a footpath as straight as a section road in Kansas, going up the Hill of Life to the Pearly Gates, while on both sides funny little tortuous trails led off to sins of one sort or another. The commentators and illustrators made a sad error in confusing "strait" and "straight." 'Tis no hard matter to keep to a "straight" path; indeed inertia will do that for you. No one would ever be tempted to wander into those crooked, spooky-looking, Sunday-school chart paths. The straight, light one is so much easier. For the sake of argument the road of righteousness might be conceded "strait," though I incline to regard it more as a highway, where many walkers, many riders and many drivers may pass with little danger of collision. Still, granted it may be narrow, can it be undeviating?

A man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves by the way, who beat, robbed, stripped, and cast him into the ditch. Two priests came that way and, seeing the poor fellow festering in the flies, went straight on—for they had prescribed and unquestioned ceremonial duties to perform, and could spare no time to a victim of common thuggery. Their path was so rectilinear and their interests so ecclesiastical that, had the Jericho road been flanked with such poor devils, they could have gone on to the Holy City as undeviatingly as they did.

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Then there came a Gentile, one of the Not-Chosen. This Samaritan must have walked on both sides of the road and been peering curiously about him, alert for what the good fortune of the day would bring. Seeing the dying Jew, one who might have spat upon him the day before, he forgot temporarily his immediate purpose, and clambered down into the ditch. His path was not straight. The business of the day had to yield; other business had intervened. No Levitical canon restrained him from following the instinct of the Most High within him.

Three wise men followed the star, nor turned aside for any mundane thing. They reached Bethlehem, we are told, and fulfilled their mission, a service of Worship,—and they have their reward. "The Other Wise Man" started on the same quest, but his path was not straight. Humanity entreated him here and commanded him there and he never reached Bethlehem. But he reached Jesus; performed the worship of Service,—and he has his reward.

Martha and "the Sons of Martha" have been coming to their own in the eyes of to-day. The path of religion and morality may once have been comparatively straight; in this second decade of the twentieth century, for the man who is moral as well as religious, that path is as variable as the demands of life. He is called hither and thither and if he respects God and his own soul, he must not disregard any call. The spiritually deaf hear no Macedonian cry except that of the missionary agent of their church. The spiritual cripples need the clear, straight, unobstructed road before them; and with eyes fixed on the dust at their feet, trodden by the myriads gone that way, they pursue the same purpose of saving their crippled souls while the rest of the world is going to the devil. Your real agnostic will not inquire further than his charted duty. Your real sceptic will not trust one foot from the revealed faith, for he doubts that God made the whole world and fears that he would lose Eternity if he should stumble into the Godless part of it.

According to the doctrine of one great branch of the Christian Church, baptism is *essential to salvation.* Still it "hopes" for the heathen who die in their heathenness. The same sort of hopeless hope may be extended to those who, fixing once for

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all their little tracks of righteousness, get into the car, adjust the trolley of faith and steer straight for Paradise. They may get there, who can say? But if they do, they won't know how to act. They will have had their happiness in this world through abdicating moral responsibility and laying their burdens upon the Lord. They will be shamed by the stirring tales of saints who had dared to lose their lives, had forsaken creed at a brother's call of distress, forgotten their own salvation to follow a vagary of love. They will be astounded to hear again and again how the City of God had burst upon the adventurer just as he struggled out of the darkest wood or came up dripping from the deepest flood. With no romance to match these pioneers, our trolley travellers may well wish themselves back on their pleasant track, listening to ecclesiastical jargon and viewing the pleasant remoteness of sinners and their sins.

III

The Riddle

"What is Truth?" said jesting Pilate, and would not wait for an answer. Bacon condemned Pilate on the ground that he had no sincere desire to know Truth. But perhaps he was ungenerous to the procurator. It may easily be that Pilate had despaired of ever coming on absolute Truth, pure, unadulterated, limelight Truth,—and so when he heard this Jewish prophet audaciously ask if he would know Truth, the question had a humorous turn, as though a learned man should inquire if we would listen to his theory of " der Allerleiwissenschaft."

What is the most stupendous fact in the intellectual universe? Try to consider what in all this mighty world of sight and sound, of experience and thought, what of all the complex apperceptions, what of all the lightning flashes of insight and prescience that come to a sentient and rational creature, is the most overwhelming in its magnitude, most destructive in its constructiveness, most awful in its iconoclasm. What is the irony of intellectual inquiry?

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Perhaps I am utterly wrong and misread the book of life, but to me here lies the terrific Enigma:

Truth, a perfect circle, the goal toward which strain all science and philosophy and poetry, must be shaven and shorn in the interest of practical morality and religion. Truth is the greatest menace to immediate and worthy ends of established systems of politics, society, science and religion. The honest thinker must ever seek Truth, but he must ever be met by the grinning gibe that he has had his labor for his pains, for he dare not unveil Her to the millions. . . . In the darkness of which facts he must continue to mix some carbon of Falsehood in his ozone of Truth. Truth has been the symbol of the Father; He is Truth before He is Love, for He must be just before He is generous. Yet the best people in the world find it necessary to apologize for Truth, and even avoid it under the deadly fear of losing their influence for good.

IV

Some of the Puzzles

First, one or two words of clarification.

The difficulty of getting at the truth has already been hinted at, but let us suppose that the prophet has found the truth of the matter. Now to give body and form by imperfect language, through imperfect ears, to imperfect brains, to that conviction which may even have been a revelation from God, makes it of necessity false—makes it only a half-truth, which is the falsest lie. Thus in the statement of any truth error is inevitable. No man in six thousand nor in fifty thousand years has said an absolutely true word. In his own mind it may be true, but when given to the ear or eye of others in congealed language, the imperfections of a million varying apperceptions tell the lie in a million different forms to a million unfortunate minds. Truth can never be superimposed; it must be endogenous. So every creed that was ever formulated is slightly false; no creed can be entirely true except that of personal individual consciousness.

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In like manner, it may as well be added, no statement is so utterly false but some one will read truth into it.

For the purposes of this practical discussion, however, we may with all practical people regard that as true, that is, correspondent to reality, which comes nearest to the truth; and that as false which merely has some truth in it. With this use of the terms in mind, what follows will not appear so inconsistent as it otherwise might.

Several years ago, in the New York *Independent,* appeared an article, written by "An Undistinguished Heretic," that occasioned considerable comment. It was in the nature of a confession by a minister in one of the conservative branches of the Christian Church. He frankly admitted that for a number of years his thinking had been far in advance of his preaching; that he held many views not in accordance with the stated doctrines of his church, particularly with regard to the Apostles' Creed and the Blood Atonement; and he offered in excuse of his equivocal position the conviction that the time was not ripe for proclaiming in the pulpit the furthest meditation of the study, and that, if he did make clear his intellectual conclusions, he would, in all probability, be asked to leave his pulpit and church and would lose the real influence for good which he felt he wielded. Well, the natural storm broke on him from all sides. Hardly a friendly or a charitable voice was raised. The orthodox called him a monster of hypocrisy and would presumably have liked to follow De Foe's "Shortest Way with Dissenters" in his committal; while the liberal and heterodox spewed him out of their fraternity for a coward, a sprag in the wheel of progress.

"Undistinguished"? Not so, indeed,—merely modest. His honesty distinguishes him from thousands of his brothers who to-day find themselves in identical or closely similar dilemmas. Some admit it only to their dearest friends, some only to themselves, and others as yet shut their eyes, vainly hoping the "bogie" will vanish in the glare of revelation,—but it is no phantom. These are not hypocrites, nor are they cowards; as a class they are wise men and good men, with highly developed

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morality as well as religiousness, for only such are harassed by the titanic irony of Truth.

There is no defence possible that will appeal to those who regard religion as a seamless robe let down from heaven. To those who believe that revelation ceased on Patmos, and that God was not willing to trust the advancing intelligence of His highest creation, man, and so saw fit to condemn him to live a dual life, now topping cloud-capped heights of ecstasy, and now grovelling in the Slough of Despond, according as religion or reason prevails,—there is no word; for we have no common denominator. But that great body of sensible and enlightened people who maintain progress in religion, and believe in a dignified and really omnipotent God, whose processes are constant and eternal,—they must admit that, as man's vision gains sweep and the laws of God come more clearly into his ken, the old shore-lines of religious belief must move higher up with the tide or be submerged with their adherents beneath the advancing flood of Truth. They will admit that Truth, the character of God, should be made welcome by the minister of Him, who must either lead his people or be a dead lump around their necks, must either be a true shepherd or one of those—

"Blind mouths that scarce know how to hold a sheep-hook."

Among churchmen, only those who are hermetically sealed in a past revelation can object to the heresies of the study.

But I suspect that the biggest shot must be fired at the other camp—the Liberals. These keen and honest gentlemen are incensed only that the heretic does not *preach* his new heresies. Let the people learn to swim by swimming. No good can come from concealment; let us have Truth at any cost. . . . Ah, but, dear friends, the Liberals, what is Truth? Is that which I hold to be eternally true going to be true for the college freshman when he interprets it by the ten candle-power of his experience struggling with the immense blackness of his inexperience? And what kind of hash will Smith, the blacksmith, make of the highest criticism when he gets it between naps at church? What vitiates all this high philosophy of the elect, the cultured and fa-

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vored classes, is that the people are not thinkers. Ninety per cent. of them have never had an abstract conception, and are incapable of following through a line of pure reasoning. This, to my mind, is not more derogative to them than, to the professional scholar, is the fact that he cannot build a house or shoe a horse; but it is nevertheless a disturbing element in preaching truth. *Noblesse oblige* has a new meaning to-day. Thoughtful people must be tender and considerate and tolerant toward their brothers whose convolutions have never been disturbed by a real thought. There is as little justification for "brain-right" as there was formerly for "fist-right." Because your head works better than another's is no more valid excuse for taking advantage of his mental muddiness than a heavier fist for striking him. So intellectual leaders must take care. The pastor ahead of his flock? Yes. But not out of sight over the mountain or around the corner, however fair flit the form of Truth before him.

But a more pertinent answer: "No good can come of concealing Truth?" Let us see. The only test of a general proposition like this is the past. If no good can come, no good has ever come, and all the beneficial beliefs of man have been true.* Consider, then, first, one of the questions that have long troubled conscientious heretics in the church,—the theory of the Atonement.

I believe I am temperate in saying that the belief that the blood of Jesus, vicariously applied for the blood of sheep and goats, *atones* for the sins of the world is regarded by practically all advanced thinking as primitive and gratuitous. This creed as it stands on record in the Plan of Salvation is scarcely conceivable to a modern mind working independently outside the revolving cage of sacerdotalism. It is unethical and, in a sense, un-

* This, it will be observed, is exactly the assertion of pragmatism, put inversely. "The true," says Professor James, "is whatever proves itself good in the way of belief"; Dewey says: "The Truth is what works." However, it cannot escape the least critical eye, that the pragmatists attach a new meaning to "true," making it synonymous with "expediential." They strip it of all objective and fixed quality, and thus put themselves completely out of the circuit of common thought. Truth means in this discussion what it means to everyone except professional philosophers of the subjective idealistic and pragmatic types, that is, *accordance with or proximity to objective reality.*

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Christian. If this theory of the Atonement is the ultimate conclusion of divine revelation, the best thing God has provided for a people plunged into sin through no fault of their own (for, of course, man's fall in Adam is a complementary piece of the same web), then reason is an empty mock, a bauble for an idle hour to be cast aside when confronted with a tradition that did good service for a simple and childish people who were just learning to spell in the book of Truth.*

Now, granting we may follow the light of progressive revelation, and are nearer the truth than were the early fathers who laid this Sisyphus-load upon us, why should not all honest preachers who are heretics in the study proclaim from the pulpit in unequivocal terms their disbelief in the Blood Atonement? The answer is that, contrary to the pragmatism of Professor Dewey, the truth in this case *does not work*. The Unitarian church is nearer the absolute truth in this matter than the so-called evangelical churches,—and the Unitarians are admittedly not evangelical; they are spiritually sterile. The world is not influenced to right action by its head, but by its heart. The Truth in Unitarianism is merely luminous, not caloric. Through centuries this very Blood Atonement, which seems now like an incrustation on the fair shape of the church, was the most potent regenerating force; and was,—nay, still is,—the fly-wheel of the gospel. Pragmatism says it is still true if it still works; and a more abject begging of a term cannot be imagined. The truth of the case, the real significance of Jesus' life and death, stands on higher ground, but the theory of the Blood Atonement still saves men by its appeal of personal fidelity. "I'll live for him who died for me" now represents inadequately the nobility of the Christian ideal; but for all that, it goes ill with any effort to substitute an accurate proposition for a vital good. The Atonement works upon men's weakness,—not a blameworthy weakness, but a fault in the woof of their making, for which they are in no way responsible,—and offers in return for simple unreflective goodness a simple, unreflective way to salvation. Out of all harmony with a living, evolutionary world it is, but it has the

* There is a real sense in which belief in Christ's life atones for the sins of any man who acts upon his belief—not within my present scope.

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unanswerable logic of being concrete and understandable. Here, then, is the stupendous fact—the unavailability of Truth.

Let us turn to a trivial instance, and "carry the war into Africa."

An evangelist in a recent meeting called for a show of hands on the part of all who intended to begin a better life. He paused a moment and then began counting: "One—two, three—thank God!—four, five—ten—hallelujah!—twelve—fifteen — Praise the Lord for His goodness!" The ministers who sat with him on the rostrum were scandalized, for none of them could see any hands raised. "But, brethren," he answered to their reproach, "I saw the hands in my faith and I knew they wanted to be raised. We must strengthen the faith of the weak and uncertain. To appear to have no results would show the Word of the Lord of no avail." This is surely shocking, we think. The method is that of Eusapia Paladino, who, when she could not get her customary materializations, "faked" them. But hold a moment. Was this innocent little lie of the revivalist any worse than the tacit assent to doctrines we believe false, which we justify on the ground that by voicing our real convictions we might injure the faith of a brother not so far advanced in thinking as we? Thousands in the Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist churches to-day make mental reservations over the Apostles' Creed as it is pronounced in unison. "I believe in the resurrection of the body," we declaim, whispering to our inward ear that our meat is too strong for the many, and would "cause them to offend"; so in order to do good by our connection with an organized positive force for righteousness, we keep on lying in public service. The revivalist was only a little cruder than we. The shocking thing, the intellectual poser is, not that a religious enthusiast should be so immoral, but that such methods should in many cases work for good. Some man may have gone home and actually resolved to live righteously because a half-dozen other men, he was told, had been affected as he himself had been, and had gone one step further and publicly proclaimed their conversion. It is by just such tricks of the trade that many a gutter-denizen has been reclaimed and started

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on the way to a soul; thus out of corruption comes forth incorruption.

Take but two more general instances of the enigma.

Nothing is more universal in religion than a belief in some kind of a heaven and hell. Heaven and hell may or may not be in accordance with the reality of an after-life. We get higher notions of the meaning of these terms as age succeeds age, but in these conceptions we seem to be only exchanging a less for a more refined selfishness. The theory in any form is a rhetorical device, aimed at man's weakness, his desire for comfort and his horror of pain. Certainly the high motive, the truth concerning human action, as found at the heart of the universe by her purest devotees, is the love of good in spite of heaven and the hatred of evil in spite of hell.

This high truth does not *work,* however, with creatures who have learned to barter. Without fear and reward ahead of him, how far on the road to universal brotherhood, Ruskin, Emerson, Lincoln, altruistic socialism, "square deal," civic righteousness and moral awareness, think you, would palæolithic man have travelled? The lower thing is an essential part of the higher. A crazy scaffolding has outlined many a noble edifice, just as a desire for everlasting fire-insurance has inaugurated the awakening of many a soul.

Finally in this connection, attend for a moment to the hackneyed subject of Christian Science, the growth and influence of which must be regarded as one of the biggest facts of the last three decades.

"Science," as its devotees term it, *works.* Numberless cures have been real. Is it therefore true? Those who recognize its works, but do not accept it as a religion, point out as the reason for its success the truth contained in it, the undoubted influence of mind over matter. This truth is what effects the cures, they say. Did anyone ever hear of a subjective idealist being cured of a toothache or a dislocated shoulder or a fit of indigestion because of his intellectual belief? The truth involved is the same as that which has been curing hundreds of nervous people of imaginary (which are often real) ailments under the care of the Christian Science healer. That truth has no body to it,

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however, until Mrs. Eddy mixes it with a farrago of meaningless words, religious moonshine and the most utterly false thing advanced in an age of wild-cat speculation—and then behold! People grasp "Truth," believe, and are cured of their sicknesses. Misanthropes become cheerful, sour faces turn sweet, and the cynic who scoffed at religion and morality has a good word for the practical creed that saved his friend's life or restored his wife's serenity. A mind trained to metaphysics repudiates Christian Science as a mere excrescence on a pale little limb of Truth; as a shallow bit of worldly wisdom in giving people what they want, asking them to believe only what can result in their personal welfare.* On the other hand, the untrained mind sees a new faith, as comprehensible as his old one, with vastly more practical benefits accruing; embraces it and actually receives his cure.

V

> "*Man-quellers must use snares as well as leading-strings; will-o'-the-wisps as well as lanterns. The truth by all means if it will promote obedience, but in any case, obedience.*"—Ross: "Social Control."

In the presence of the great cloud of witnesses anyone of us can summon, I do not see how we dare go on longer identifying "the true" and "the good." Society is founded upon illusions; a false prudery teaches a genuine modesty; a false optimism keeps up our political courage. The threshing of the field of social inquiry shows everywhere the tares thridding and strengthening the wheat.

God must work with the stuff at His disposal. In the pursual of His purpose, the salvation of man, after man has become worth saving, God is constantly beset by man's limitations, prejudices, smallnesses, visual aberrations, faults of perceptions and

* The essence of Christian Science is Epicurean rather than Christian. God does not want us to suffer. All suffering is the result of sin, and was not in the plan at all. Now the life of Christ meant nothing if it did not teach the meaning of sorrow. The religion which ignores sin and sorrow, ignores life.

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derangements of apperceptions, "defects of will and taints of blood." Under this handicap God is no stickler for the perfect circles and straight lines of Truth. He was a true pragmatist before the world was, and if the glare of truth is blinding or the plain, straight high-road so broad as to admit of aimless meandering, He will not hesitate to lead man by the narrow, tortuous path of Approximations to the goal. The goal is the important thing. They are few whose eyes never blink in the searchlight, whose feet never falter in the free path, whose hearts are never conquered by the pretty stones and fragrant flowers. Emerson was one of the few. He was one of the best of men, as he was one of the saddest of heretics. Wherein he differed from the majority of good men, he was startlingly near the truth. Yet that truth leaves us cold and wondering. The mass of men are confused and benumbed in tracing Emerson's steps. If they ever arrive near Emerson's goal, they travel thither through a blind alley, through ugly, evil-smelling places; follow without pause arbitrary turns; obey without question unequivocal command, veiling their eyes sometimes where their narrow defile obtains a view of the broad and pleasant road that Emerson is ambling along at leisure, that Carlyle is covering at giant-strides, amid titanic rumblings. "The truth by all means if it will promote obedience, but in any case, obedience."

You may hear any Sunday what I heard a few weeks ago: "The Christian will receive strength for the trials of life." True, no doubt of it. But note the implication. This is what it means to the orthodox majority: "One who has formally acknowledged Jesus as Divine, and joins himself to some church organization, will experience benefits withheld from his fellows outside the church." He will be a favored depositor in God's savings-bank. Hortatory implication,—get in early and avoid the rush. . . This kind of Christianity is as selfish as Christian Science itself, but it is possible even here to see a far-off good in the perspective.

The lesson of Job, to quote from all the sermons I have ever heard on the subject, and from one in particular, is that "nothing ever happened to a good man that God did not permit." The statement is unimpeachable—on its face. Here

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again it is in the omissions and consequent implications that falsehood lurks. The corollary, so essential to aggressive religious teaching, is that *God will look out for the good man in this world.* . . "Nothing is so well established," says Professor Huxley, "as that there is no connection between prosperity in this life and morality." This is, of course, rather bald, and needs obverse statement. It is hardly necessary to point out that if virtue meets no uniform material reward in this life, certainly the reward of sin is even more doubtful and less promising. The sinner against society not only suffers spiritual decay, but lives in uneasy outlawry until the sure moment of his self-betrayal and conviction. Virtue and vice are their own rewards; says Milton: "The mind is its own place, and can of itself make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven."

Still the thinker in any field of human investigation must come to the same conclusion as Professor Huxley and the Psalmist,—that sometimes the wicked are seen spreading themselves "like a green bay tree"; and that here and there a Job dies before his vindication. Nevertheless, in spite of common observation, practical morality goes on preaching. "Never have I seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread"; and what is more, genuine returns are realized on this alloy. Franklin's version of the same morality, "honesty is the best policy," is bound to be more popular than the Golden Rule,—honesty for its own sake. Give honesty a low meaning, and I suppose Franklin was right; but carry the real spirit of honesty into business, be no more careful of your own interests than you are of the other man's,—and see how far in a world of other men this policy will carry you before you go into the hands of a receiver. Conscience bears no dividends; yet morality would feel she had been robbed of a high trump and mankind would lose their healthy optimism if honesty and success were divorced.

Said Epictetus: "It is not easy to exhort weak young men; for neither is it easy to hold soft cheese with a hook." The Welsh-rabbit mind has always been predominant. Sharp-cutting and pointed steel in the study, but the silver spoon in public when the truth has been successfully reduced to hash. What has "proved good in the way of belief" in the past has never been

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the most advanced truth of the time; so why should we continue to chafe in the effort to harness the "true" and the "good" together? They have never pulled well abreast; their practical relation is tandem, the "good" leading, with the "true" steadily plodding in the rear. . . The Pragmatists beg the whole question by deciding that the "good," however crooked it appeared, must have been the "true" after all,—to which sophistry one is welcome if it brings comfort. I prefer to face the music with candor and common-sense, saying, Truth is a mystery; good attains its ends by uncouth means.

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FRANCIS GRIERSON

A Study in Modern Mysticism

EDWIN BJÖRKMAN

"MEN of genius," says Francis Grierson, "are the symbols and the finger-points which nature unfolds here and there as indications of the mathematical and psychic progression of the visible and invisible world in which we live."

But that evolutionary process which we call progress presents itself to me everywhere as a pendular swinging between opposites lying now in this, now in that direction. In our efforts to determine the momentary direction of those swingings, we select, more or less arbitrarily, certain points deriving their significance from tendencies common to all life. Thus, for instance, we find it hard to indicate any kind of spiritual advance without reference to what we generally name "scepticism" and "mysticism"—principles back of which we discover fundamental attitudes of the human mind.

Surveyed from the antipodal position, scepticism appears little more than carping doubt, while mysticism, similarly viewed, implies blind faith and poor thinking. Regarded in this hostile spirit, both attitudes seem like pure negations of progress. Very differently they appear, indeed, if we study them from within, so to speak, and in proper coördination with life in its entirety. Then scepticism is seen to stand for a demand that nothing be accepted as real which cannot be tested and re-tested by our senses supported by such artificial aids as our growing ingenuity enables us to devise. And mysticism becomes identified with an insistence on the supreme importance of realities so subtle that they lie beyond anything ascertainable by mere sense perception.

As far back as we have records of systematic thinking, we find the human mind swinging periodically between these antagonistic attitudes, the inference being that neither one of them represents the full truth, but only a part of the truth which needs

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temporary accentuation if life's onward course along the median line is to be maintained. We may add that the sceptical view, as a rule, draws its main inspiration from the intellect, while mysticism places the greater emphasis on the emotional side of our being.

The flowering time of classic antiquity was, on the whole, sceptical and intellectual. Christianity inaugurated an era of highly emotional mysticism that lasted up to and beyond the dawn of the Renaissance. With the beginning of what we call "modern" times, the sway passed to reason, and up to the eve of the French Revolution man's spirit continued to grow more and more dryly sceptical. The nearer we come to our own day, the shorter and quicker grow the swingings of the pendulum. The emotional period named the Romantic Era lasted less than a century before it yielded to another intellectual reaction, and this, again, showed signs of waning within a few decades. The characteristic mark of this most recent period of scepticism was that it discouraged any venturing beyond that central field of obvious existence on which falls the full light of our self-consciousness. And the main reasons for feeling that our faces are once more set toward the mystical pole lie in the eagerness with which we are now shedding our former agnostic timidity, and in the growing tendency to spend at least a small part of ourselves in those marginal tracts of being upon which falls the shadow of the unknowable.

When, in 1886, Ibsen published *Rosmersholm,* the end of naturalism in literature and of materialism in philosophy was already in sight. Three years later a single twelvemonth encompassed three outwardly unrelated events, each one of which must be held momentous in the annals of the present spiritual phase. In 1889 Maeterlinck published his first play, *Princess Maleine.* In 1889 Bergson sent forth his first great philosophical work, which has only recently become familiar in this country under its English title of *Time and Free Will.* And in that same year a tiny volume of essays and aphorisms in French was printed privately at Paris by Francis Grierson under the name of *La Révolte Idéaliste.*

Within certain circles that little volume was hailed as a

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revelation and a battle cry. Maeterlinck read it and expressed his admiration openly. The general public heard no more of it than of Bergson's coeval work. Of course, the early plays of Maeterlinck warned many of an impending change. And in each new drama turned out by Ibsen toward the end of his life, the mystical tendency asserted itself more strongly. But I think that the first book which made the beginning of a new period palpably evident was *The Treasure of the Humble,* appearing in 1896. In the same year Bergson published his second volume, named *Matter and Memory.* And three years later Grierson issued his first book in English—a group of essays bearing the significant title of *Modern Mysticism* and including much of what had already been printed in the earlier French volume.

Life has a way of making many tools work as one, while each of them thinks itself alone "on the job." This is practically what happened to the three men in whom I am inclined to see the living pillars of the thought-structure most expressive of our own day and its tendencies. Each one of them may owe something to the other two, and yet all of them were from the start impelled by a common spirit and would probably in the end have reached a clear understanding of this spirit without mutual assistance. Maeterlinck has proved himself more of an artist than Grierson, and Bergson more of a thinker. The formulations of both Maeterlinck and Bergson are more definite in outline than those of Grierson. But to Grierson belongs the honor of having first attained to prophetic vision of the common goal. For that humble volume of 1889 suggested more or less gropingly every idea which since then has become recognized as essential, not only to Maeterlinck and Bergson, but to the constantly increasing number of writers who are now engaged in making the time conscious of its own spirit. And it is as one of nature's "finger-points"—the first one of its kind to bear a fairly plain inscription—that Grierson interests me.

His position in the van of modern thought is the more remarkable because he began life as a musician, and under circumstances that, at first glance, would seem decidedly unfavorable to his later literary development. It is doubtful, however, whether he could ever have become what we now see in him

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without just the kind of experience that filled his earlier years. Born at Birkenhead, England, in 1848, he was over forty when he issued his first book, and over fifty when he began to gain widespread recognition as a writer. In connection with his strongly individualistic attitude and his impatient scorn of what he calls "provincialism," it is interesting to note that one of his ancestors was that Sir Robert Grierson, fourteenth Laird of Lagg, who figures so conspicuously in Scott's *Redgauntlet*.

When the boy was only a year old, his parents emigrated to this country. After several westward moves, the family settled at last in the prairie country of southern Illinois, where abolitionism was then assuming its first practical expression through the "underground railway," and where a little later Lincoln began his struggle for national leadership. The time was already big with the coming crisis. Men's minds were strongly restless and expectant. A wave of mingled religious and political emotion was sweeping the country. The old prophecies were chanted with a new meaning. When not wholly overlooked, the little everyday things became symbolical of life-embracing truths. And as in most periods of great tension, the people shunned the sceptical spirit ordinarily glorified under the name of "common sense."

That earliest environment stamped itself on the supersensitive boy for life. The wind-swept vastness of the prairie filled his soul with a wonder that is still stirring mightily within the man of sixty-four. He attended some of those cyclonic revivals that prostrated whole counties in common awe and faith. He watched the mysterious arrivals and departures of frightened, chattering fugitives. He heard Lincoln and Douglas debate, and, a mere boy, he even took a minor part in the tumult that ensued when at last the pent-up passions of incompatible civilizations clashed openly.

Through all those disturbing impressions flowed influences of a more intimate character that, fortunately, made for mental poise and a calm faith in the powers within. Like shining, winged guardians, the memories of his father's quiet nobility and his mother's patient kindliness have always remained with him, making him kind and considerate toward everybody, patient

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and dignified in the face of everything. Nor is he able to hark back to a moment when everything that was most himself did not leap in mysterious response to the sound of his mother's voice—a voice peculiarly sonorous and sweet even when she spoke, but trembling with almost unearthly harmonies when she raised it in song. From his mother must have emanated the gift which later brought him an all but unique place in the world of music.

In 1863 the family moved east again. And in 1868 Grierson was in Washington, meeting Walt Whitman and practising the art peculiarly his own. I don't know when or how he discovered his ability to improvise on the piano a music always comparable to, and sometimes surpassing, the best composed in the ordinary manner. All I know is that when, in 1869, he made his European début at Paris, he won the startled approbation of the most critical audiences in the world. And for years that tall boy of Byronic appearance, who could not even read music from the sheet, and who seems to have had little or no systematic instruction, went triumphantly from country to country, gaining everywhere the hearing and favor of the great ones, whether crowned or laurelled. To this day Grierson's command of the piano remains as perfect and as inexplicable as ever.

Persons of sound judgment, who have heard him, say that his playing has an indescribable quality, found in none that is studied from the sheet and developed by practice. It is as if his soul were able to impress its every mood and fancy directly on the keyboard, drawing from it a music at once spontaneous and subtly expressive as that of wind and water, of reeds and trees. It is a music mirroring the strife and the prayer that accompany the human soul's struggle to solve both its own riddle and that of the encompassing universe. From the power speaking through this music Grierson may have derived the passion for spontaneous utterance and the unquestioned reliance on intuitive guidance which assert themselves so conspicuously in all his writings.

For many years Grierson moved hither and thither as the impulse of the moment prompted him. At times he took great

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risks, and at times he suffered hardships in consequence thereof. Mostly fate provided mysteriously for him wherever he went, causing him to believe that, for the right man at least, the thing he needs is always waiting. Frequently he found himself in company that might have proved dangerous to a mind less firmly fixed in its own spirit. It cannot be denied that he speaks eagerly, and at times a little egotistically, of his acquaintance with men and women in exalted positions. But, as a rule, he has always kept his head firm and his vision clear. And there is an unmistakable ring of truth in his words when he says that he has never yet seen the palace in which he cared to live. Concrete humanity has with him largely taken the place of books, "the idea of knowing the world from books having never entered his head." Yet he has read extensively, to good purpose, and only of what has a claim to serious attention. Now and then his critical judgments are peculiar or intolerant; in the main they are scrupulously just and eloquent of his familiarity with the best literatures of all ages.

Of the circumstances that first led him to write I know no more than of his first venture into music. As early as 1882 he delivered some discourses on *Materialism in Germany* and *The Influence of Modern Literature from a Spiritual Standpoint,* which were published—but when and how I cannot tell. The essays and aphorisms forming his first volume he seems to have produced for his own pleasure alone and with no thought of giving them to the public. This he did only with hesitation and at the urgent requests of his friend, L. Waldemar Tonner, who has been his constant companion for the last twenty-six years. The reception given that initial volume was, as I have already mentioned, flattering enough as far as it went, but it did very little to bring its author before the general public. The main thing it did for him was to reveal his true field of endeavor.

It seems likely that Grierson was not unmindful of his own case when he wrote that "all men and women are heroic who have worked, waited and suffered without losing faith in themselves." He has always been a master in the art of waiting, and his faith in the ultimate success of his work seems never to

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have wavered. Ten years passed before he produced his second book, in English, and even then it was largely made up of what had already entered into the previous volume. It was that book of essays named *Modern Mysticism,* which still may be counted Grierson's chief personal message to mankind. Two years later, in 1901, he published another group of essays and reflections under the title of *The Celtic Temperament.* Both these works aroused a great deal of attention in England, and had he continued without interruption to produce books of the same kind, his reputation might have spread more rapidly among the public at large.

Instead he took up a long-cherished project of giving artistic form to his childhood reminiscences of Lincoln's time and country. It was a work of love on which he spent eight years and all his savings. He named the book *The Valley of Shadows* when it appeared in 1909. It is in every way a remarkable production, not known as it deserves on this side of the ocean. It is the one work of Grierson's in which the form equals the contents and the spirit in importance. Perfection cannot be claimed for it. As much of what has sprung from Grierson's pen, it is weak in design, containing whole chapters not germane to its purpose. But it makes us live once more in the physical and spiritual atmosphere of its chosen time and place. Its pages haunt us with their strange mingling of exquisite art and artless simplicity. To read that book and remain the same man as before seems out of the question. Judging it as a piece of art, this work ranks far ahead of anything else Grierson has done hitherto. Nevertheless I shall not recur to it again because, after all, I do not think it bears the same vital relation to the spirit and outlook of the time as do his essays.

Since the appearance of *The Valley of Shadows,* Grierson has given us a volume of reminiscent essays named *Parisian Portraits,* another volume of literary and philosophical essays called *The Humour of the Underman,* and a volume of essays and aphorisms in French, *La Vie et les Hommes.* These later works offer few ideas not present in the earlier ones, but they are valuable for the additional light they throw on Grierson's

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life-view, besides being richly endowed with the charm attaching to all he has written.

Even at this late date Grierson remains, on the whole, a "writer's writer"—one appealing to the few rather than to the many. To this exclusiveness he would be the last one to raise any objection, for toward the mass of men his attitude is always a little impatient, and it is difficult for him to approach life except from the viewpoint which Tarde designated as the "inventor's." In spite of this reserve inherent in his work, something like a Grierson cult has, during the last few years, begun to gather adherents on both sides of the ocean. This I mention merely as evidence of the close connection between Grierson's thought and the tendencies by which the race-mind is most affected for the moment.

It is with the spirit rather than the form of Grierson's work I am concerned in this study. Yet his form is not a negligible factor if we want to arrive at a correct estimate of his achievement. He himself is a worshipper of beauty in all its embodiments, and his conception of the part it plays in the general scheme of life is suggested by his saying that, "as a dance without harmonious movement has no charm, so an idea without style has no force." His style is often exquisite and always effective. In his striving after perfect form, however, he is more English than French, paying more attention to expression than to design, which seems strange in one who places such stress on brevity and directness, and who has given us what almost amounts to a new literary category, standing between the essay and the aphorism.

His thoughts leap rather than flow, and at times he passes from one to another with an abruptness that both startles and puzzles the reader. The same abruptness seems characteristic of most writers who are what might be called intellectually self-made. It implies at bottom a contempt for those smooth commonplaces which we are so prone to use in passing from one link to another in our chain of argument. What, on the other hand, may justly be deemed a defect lies in the tendency of Grierson to lapse into hopeless confusion whenever he attempts a categorical subdivision of any general group of phenomena.

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Whoever sees in pigeon-holed comprehensiveness the chief desideratum had better not seek it in Grierson's pages. There he will find no logically arranged system, no creed neatly done up in "fourthlies" and "fifthlies," while ever so often he will discover indisputable evidences of self-contradiction. But Grierson neither is nor pretends to be a philosopher in the academic sense. He has as much passion as Bergson, if not more, for keeping his conception of life fluid. And he writes, not for pedants, but for brave and tolerant temperaments, ready to forgive verbal inconsistencies if only the spirit be consistent, and eager to use the ideas offered them as bricks for the upbuilding of their own systems. If approached in the right way, he will always be found suggestive, though never exhaustive in any sense. Purposely obscure he is not, but sometimes his thoughts are a little too far-reaching for the ordinary run of words, and therefrom results a certain vagueness calling for sympathetic coöperation on the part of the reader. And of one thing such a reader may always be sure: that back of every blurred passage will be felt the pressure of mystic meanings, heralding what to later generations may appear as plain, familiar truths.

Of course, it is inevitable that one who has brooded so insistently on all the riddles that make up our existence, as well as on some that seem to reach beyond it, must have arrived at certain formulations that meet us with an air of conclusiveness. But interesting as these may be in themselves, they are not what make Grierson's work valuable to us. The basis of that value lies in something much subtler, something almost defying our efforts at definition. More than anything else it resembles a mood, an attitude, but one so consistent and so enduring that it constitutes the equivalent of a logical life interpretation. It is as if Grierson *felt* rather than *saw* what life implies in its utmost ramifications and consequences, and as if, from this feeling amounting almost to vision, he had derived a golden rule as to the way life should be lived under any and every circumstance.

Of this attitude he is wont to speak in certain constantly recurring terms, which vary with the point of approach. When he deals with valuations of life, he is likely to use words like

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"pessimism" and "disillusionment." When, again, he considers the methods of effective living, he employs such terms as "intuition," "imagination," and "inspiration." With his pessimism we need not concern ourselves at length. Its quality is provokingly evasive, and Grierson's meaning might be equally clear if he used the antithetical term of optimism. He does, in fact, play ball with those two terms, choosing now one and now the other to represent the same thing, or making one of them by turns express quite different things. But what he is really aiming at one rarely fails to catch. In the end it amounts to this: that he sees life as a striving and not as a holding—as a journey and not as an arrival. To him the fatuous optimism of the early eighteenth century, for instance, means nothing but a belief that some day life will reach a final equilibrium; while that "modern melancholy," with its "natural gesture of disillusionment," to which he sometimes refers as "practical pessimism," means a realization, on the part both of the individual and the race, that eternal disharmony is the price which must be paid for eternal progress.

"Men are potent and persevering from fear of the future," he says, "and never from an absolute confidence in it." With despair or resigned inactivity, with all the repellent features of that surrender which makes for decadence in art as in life, his peculiar brand of pessimism has absolutely nothing in common. Of such decadent, life-destroying pessimism he says that those given to it "take the trivial and fleeting things of life as if they were intended to remain as perpetual realities instead of passing incidents." Perhaps his own feeling in this matter comes nearest authentic manifestation in a passage where he says that "in everything development mounts upward by regular stages, the last expression in the ladder of progress being the most favorable, but never final." This is modern, vitalistic evolutionism, with its placing of perfectional striving, not achieved perfection, at the heart of life. And it is in thorough keeping with the spirit common to men like Ostwald and Mach, Bergson and Cope, that Grierson adds: "For we shall not reach finality till the last flicker of hope goes out on the shores of Silence and Eternity."

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But still nearer to Grierson's life conception do we come when we turn to that other set of terms which he is wont to use —the terms indicative of what to him appears the proper method of dealing with life's problems. And it follows, of course, from what was said above, that to him life primarily must present itself as an endless series of problems demanding solution. Both his preoccupation with methods of living and his instinctive clinging to the aphoristic form in writing as well as thinking, confirm our impression of him as a preacher and prophet rather than philosopher—one more anxious to tell us how to live than what life is. What he wants to give and has to give in richest measure may be expressed in a single word: wisdom. As we read essay after essay, it is as if we beheld the globe of life revolving slowly between us and some unknown source of light, the rays of which lend an edge of transparency to the core of opaqueness.

Grierson's books fall naturally into the class of *Ecclesiastes,* for which he has such fondness; and it is only logical that he shall judge the worth of an author by the number of life-enlightening phrases to be culled from his work. The wisdom that finds expression in his own pithy and polished phrases has a quaint streak of worldly shrewdness running through its essential unworldliness, showing that wherever his head be, his feet are always on firm ground. This element of homely common sense may have been acquired while he received the intoxicating homage reserved for a musical prodigy, or it may be traceable to his early impressions of those canny Illinois settlers, who retained a certain balance even in the midst of religious excesses. No matter where he got it, we may be glad he does possess it, for just this mixture of two widely different kinds of wisdom tends to give his mysticism the quality which renders it suitable to the mood of our own day.

Too often in the past mysticism has prided itself on being fantastic and impractical. Too often it has stood wholly hostile to that light of "cold reason" which Blake declared to be "the only enemy of God." But we of to-day feel differently, and we are not willing to sacrifice what the painstaking intellectual labors of the last few centuries have gained for us. We

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want to arrive at a more correct estimate of the power and scope of our intellectual faculty, but we do not wish to abolish it—supposing this to be possible. What we aim at is a blending of emotion and intellect from which will spring a still higher faculty, capable of reaching closer to life's utmost confines and innermost recesses than either one of its constituent parts. It is because this desire of ours is so completely Grierson's that he takes such eminent rank among those who are now leading mankind on to a never before attained degree of self-consciousness.

For however strenuously he may harp on the saving grace of that quality which, by turns, he speaks of as intuition, imagination and inspiration, he maintains no less strenuously that this voice out of our subconscious depths must be checked by scientific interpretation. In other words, it is some synthesis like the one just indicated, and not another form of onesidedness, for which he pleads. He has said, I admit, that "the longer he lives, the less he esteems work that is purely intellectual." But he has also said that "the world is not governed by what bodies of people do or say, but by ideas." And, although he asserts that "profound feeling is one of the principal ingredients of genius," he has made clear in numerous passages that sentimentalism and unbridled emotionalism are as foreign to him as occultism and any kind of supernaturalism.

When he tells us to heed the voice of intuition, or insists that "imagination is the basic pillar of science as well as romance," he wants us to turn our vision inward and not backward. He wants us not to abandon our search for truth, but to search for it in a direction long neglected and discredited. It is one of the chief traits of our own day that it has begun to grasp the part played by emotion in our dealings with the hard task of comprehending life. And to this grasp our present mystical trend must be largely traced. We are beginning to see that our intellectual consciousness, from which spring scepticism and its entire groundwork of inductive reasoning, always tends to run into a sharp point and end there. All such consciousness may be likened to an angle turned upward: beyond its apex there is nothing. Mysticism, on the other hand, and also deductive reasoning, may be represented by an angle standing on its apex

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and opening outward until all life may be included within its embrace. Each one of those conscious forms has its warrant and its use. What we want is to combine them—to join those two angles so that where they meet we get a focal point toward which converges all the past, all reality that has already been conquered, and from which diverges the whole future with its infinity of still unmeasured realities.

To me emotion is a general reaction of the whole system, that juxtaposes itself, on one side, to the peripheral reactions of the senses, and on the other, to the centralized reactions of the brain. Instinct is emotion turning into action without interference of the reason. Intuition, according to Bergson, is instinct grown self-conscious. And imagination, as I see it, is intellect impelled by intuition—or, if it please you better, plunged into the deep recesses of subconscious being and thus brought into more direct communication with that source of life which is also the ultimate source of all knowledge.

Mysticism has always demanded a plunge of some such kind, but the distinguishing mark of our new mysticism is that the plunge stands neither for an end in itself nor for a negation of the ordinary modes and objects of consciousness. The mystic of to-day does not dream of extinguishing the searchlight of self-consciousness. He wishes only to reverse it, in order that by its light he may explore the world within and thus attain to new sympathy and new understanding for the world without. He is not renouncing knowledge based on the testimony of the senses and the judgment of the brain: he is instead trying to supplement it with knowledge reached by new routes. These routes have too long been rejected by the spirit of scepticism, of mechanical rationalism, of one-sided materialism, that was needed to teach us once for all what is knowledge and what is not. To the new mystic—as we find him embodied in Grierson, for instance—the heart has its own wireless system, and this he wants us to study with all the keenness of which the head is capable, so that thereby the hand may gain added precision in its moulding of what Ibsen called "the third kingdom" and Grierson somewhere speaks of as "the precincts of perpetual magic."

As seen by Grierson, the world is full of mysterious coin-

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cidences, of secretly ordained and regulated happenings, of signs and symbols with almost cabalistic portent. But these manifestations of a world not yet subdued by our senses imply nothing occult, nothing that may not be held strictly "natural." Beneath the perishable surface he spies an imperishable and immanent life principle, to which he may or may not give the name of God, as the mood of the moment happens to connect his dreams with the past or with the future. His creed, largely unformulated, is at bottom nothing but that ancient pantheism, that primal glimmer of truth, which has haunted man's mind ever since he began to make gods in his own image, and which will continue to haunt him until he surrenders to its wise promptings and recognizes the whole world and all life as divine. With this in mind, Grierson defines our own epoch, the twentieth century, as the one in which "science is at last to coalesce with the pantheistic idea of the Greeks." Science must be there as one of the fusing principles; it stands for reason, for the scepticism of the test tube and the scales. But reason is no longer to be the sole witness bearing testimony: beside it will be heard intuition—the voice of life itself rising through our emotions into the steady, dispassionate light of the intellect.

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THE LITTLE GOLDEN SHOES

ROBERT W. SNEDDON

WHEN Andreas Vassilitch was dumped ashore in December at Ellis Island, unresisting, he was still stricken with a poignant sense of inarticulateness. Max Lutzky, who was conducting the party, had seen too much of it before to pay much attention; but even he, too, noted it, and clapped him on the shoulder, bidding him be of good cheer, for he was now in the promised land of liberty. Andreas, heavy with the inherent suffering of a thousand years, heard him in silent wonder, and scarcely knew what he felt. It had all been so strange. The herded company on board in the forecastle of the great ship kept apart from the other immigrants, thinking of nothing but a great sense of wrong, and with a surging emotion within them that could find no vent in expression.

When he landed, still confused, the towering buildings added to his fear, and he trembled all over as he listened to the hum of the traffic and the terrifying noises of a great city. Luckily for Andreas, a compatriot, Feodor Danlitch, had met him wandering disconsolately about Hester Street, seeing faces that he almost seemed to know and yet dared not address. They seemed different, distant, Russian and yet with an expression he had never seen at home; and Andreas, who could not remember the time when he had a real friend, suddenly felt lonely. It was Feodor, who, touched in some strange way by the wistful face of the stranger, spoke to him first, and with infinite cunning drew him out of his shell. They drank together, and next morning Andreas had gone with him to Isaac Rabinowitz, and by noontide he had cast off his coat and was busy sewing endless pairs of cheap pants, in a workroom outside of the window of which was a placard depicting a benign gentleman proclaiming to the world the fact that here were "Rabinowitz and Kolinone: Custom Tailors. Prince Alberts and Tuxedos. Silk and Opera Hats for Sale."

Andreas was a tailor, and his great hands, which could have crushed a bar of iron in two, worked the needle with the deli-

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cacy of a woman—one of those wonderful women he saw about him in the streets. He shared a room with Feodor, who charged him a dollar a week, and profited by his friendship to make twenty-five cents on the transaction. Andreas, accustomed at home to a one-tenth share of an attic, thought it was wonderful. In one corner was a wash hand basin, in the other a little gas stove on which one could cook. The window looked out onto the street, and when he came home at night and used to find Feodor sunk in slumber upon his mattress, he would sit out on the fire escape and breathe the air of the street in great gulps. It was his hour of reflection and peace. All day long in the stuffy workroom where he sat with twenty others, sew-sew, snip-snip amid the noise of the machines, he thought of nothing else but his evening hour. As the noise of the children reached him, he would smile with infinite understanding and happiness. His past misery was like something he had heard of long ago, and he sometimes wondered if it had ever happened.

It was on one of these evenings in April, when already the promise of spring was in the air, that he heard Marya Dolsky and two other women talking below and he listened, picking out a word here and there.

"What sort of a fellow is this big man who has come?"

"The one who looks so afraid?"

"Yes, the one who is waiting till you bite his head off!"

"Andreas something or other. A tailor. He works with Feodor Danlitch. A dreamer he is, with his head in the clouds."

"Pah!" said Marya Dolsky; "I have no use for such as him. A great giant that is no better than a baby. Why, if you say good-even to him, he looks as if he would run away."

"Ah, the booby! That sort never comes to any good. There is Liza's husband, too. I have no patience with him. Another of the same. What does he do with his money?"

"Money!" laughed Marya; "what can one do with seven dollars a week? Nothing. It is no use thinking of him, Clara. Still, I would like to shake him. Perhaps he would speak then."

Andreas listened up above, and as the meaning of the conversation stole into his dull brain, it seemed to burn, not with anger, but with shame. They were right, and yet, if he had the

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chance, he could be as good as any of the other men. Just a little courage. That was all he needed. The women liked one to talk with them, to call them little names and joke on the coming of their wedding day. And he, if he only dared, he had lots to say. He was strong. In his way he was not bad looking when he had been to the barber at the corner. It was dress that did it all, perhaps. But why did they jeer at him, a stranger? He was willing to meet them. He did not think that the advance should come wholly from him. After all, he was only a stupid man, and they with their red lips, their dark eyes and hair, their swelling bosoms, they were women and knew all things, no doubt.

When he coiled himself up on his mattress that night, it was with a sense of pain. He had been wounded and it hurt him acutely. He resolved to speak to Marya next day and disabuse her of the idea she had formed of him. He dreamt of her that night and it seemed as if she smiled upon him.

Next morning he forgot all about it, and it was only when he was coming home at night that he remembered suddenly. He stopped at the corner and hesitated before the barber's shop. He read the sign in the window—"Pete The Hairdresser"—with unseeing eye and, entering, took off his coat and sat down. As the barber lathered his chin, he thought vaguely of what he was going to say to Marya. The barber, who knew a few words of Russian, repeated them at intervals, but got no answer. The operation through, Andreas was for going out without his coat. When the barber had handed it to him, he received it without a word. There was a laugh as the tall Russian hurried out of the place, and the barber felt that he had done something unusually funny.

Andreas, as he came out into the cool air, realized his remoteness from all around him, and bowed his head. Almost before he knew it he was at the door of his lodging. With a hurried glance, he saw that Marya was standing there and his eye brightened. She apparently did not see him. How fine she was, he thought to himself: her dark hair so neatly coiled up and bound with a black ribbon, her dark eyes so full of a

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secret something, her trim figure, her hands, her feet. He faltered on the step, and said hastily: "Good even to you, Marya Dolsky."

She started, stared at him, and burst out laughing, turning away her head.

Without another word Andreas passed her, and hurried indoors, his cheeks burning with shame and his heart beating loudly.

Marya, turning her head, looked after him and slowly clenched her hands.

"The fool!" she said, stamping her foot angrily; "the fool. Why did he run away?"

And upstairs Andreas was standing by the window repeating the same thought. Had he only known that so much of his future depended on this meeting, he would not have said to himself: "It surely is God's will that it is so."

Feodor came in then in great spirits. He had just been given a rise of two cents an hour in his pay. Things were prospering with him. He was making ten dollars a week, and he saw the day when he would be able to hire men and let them make money for him. He promised himself a good time then. As he saw Andreas standing at the window, he spoke.

"Well, comrade, how is it?"

"I am not so well in my mind," Andreas answered.

"Bah!" said Feodor, kicking off his shoes and sitting on the edge of the bed: "You cannot hope to have it all at once. If God has anything for you, you are going to get it. Look at me now. Am I not some one? I came here a stranger like you, knowing not the customs of the country; and now—I have clothes; I have money in my pockets; I stand well with all; the girls like me; I am always one of the wedding guests; I can drink my glass in the evening."

"I am slow to learn. That is what the barinya said when I was in service. Many a whipping I got for my clumsiness. She was beautiful, my mistress, delicate with little feet that danced. Those fine folks have the best of it."

"She had her lovers," said Feodor carelessly.

"You lie," said Andreas, turning round upon him.

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"Yes. I lie," said Feodor easily; "I know nothing of it, but I take your word. Perhaps you loved her?"

"I—I—" and Andreas choked.

"Yes, that would have been a fine revenge for your blows."

"She was an angel of Heaven."

"They all are," Feodor answered, stripping off his working clothes. "Come wash up and have something to eat with me. I am going courting after supper."

A terrible fear seized Andreas.

"With whom, Feodor, if I may ask?"

"Ah," said Feodor mysteriously, "that is my affair. See, Andreas, I do not want you to shove your head into my business."

"No—" he said simply, "I do not wish that. Is it anyone I know?"

But Feodor smiled provokingly and whistled as he went on with his toilet.

He did not repeat his invitation to supper, and Andreas, when he had seen him go out dressed in his best clothes, sat and dreamt. It was nearly eight o'clock when he thought of eating, and going out to the stall at the corner he bought some cakes and a baked apple. All about him the crowd elbowed among the pushcarts, bargaining with the vendors. Hands clutched at his coat and wheedling voices besought him to buy clothes—beautiful clothes. Once a girl jostled his arm and whispered to him; but seeing there was nothing to be got from him, moved on. Andreas looked after her. Even she, he thought bitterly. It seemed as if he were no longer a man, but a being apart.

The crowds were thick about the moving picture shows; but he passed on. He did not understand what they were and, besides, he had no money for amusements. Also he was not a Jew and could not read the bills outside. It disturbed him vaguely to find so many Jews about and prosperous. Two young girls seeing him staring at them giggled and made bold eyes at him, but he was thinking of Marya. He was gradually building a shrine about the girl instead of seizing her in his strong arms. The habits of early upbringing are not to be broken by impulse.

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When he had walked to the end of Grand Street, he walked back and into Rutgers. Here he passed through the talking crowds with steady step and made for his lodging. When he came to the door, Feodor, smoking a cigar, was joking with Marya. He could see her little white teeth gleam in the lamplight.

"Well, Andreas," said Feodor coarsely, "you have been out seeing the girls, eh?"

"Hullo, Feodor, and you, too, Marya," stammered Andreas, stopping; "I have been taking the air."

"A mysterious person is Andreas," said Feodor insinuatingly; "he has his affairs, no doubt, on the sly."

Marya looked at Andreas strangely. Her lips parted, but he had hurried into the house. Almost immediately after, Feodor followed him. They went to bed in silence. After the lamp was extinguished Feodor turned and looked at the other mattress, but there was no movement of the clothes.

"It is only the fool who sleeps well," he said to himself, and shut his eyes.

From that night there was a gradually widening breach between the two friends. They would sit together and be ill at their ease. Andreas grew still more moody and silent. To Feodor he was as much a mystery as printed books, for which he had no use. Not that he said anything to offend. No. But this silence, this dumbness chilled the affection of others. If a cigar was offered to him it was refused, until Feodor began to hate this clumsy fellow who could not put two words together. Regularly after work was over Feodor would disappear and be seen no more till bedtime. Andreas would sit at the window staring at the houses opposite and wondering what was happening in them. His comrades in the workroom could make nothing of him. He was perfectly friendly, but there was an impassable barrier between their minds and his. "He is a deep one," Boris Girshel would say over and over again; "he is a deep one."

In the evening when the bell rang and they all flung down their work, Andreas would carefully fold up the pants he was sewing, put on his hat and bow solemnly to them all as he went

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out softly. It was useless to ask him to the weekly balls, and yet in his heart he knew he would have danced the lightest of all, if he had only had the courage. What does such a man think of? Of the next day. Of women, possibly. But if he does not speak, who can tell?

One night he met Marya. Her cheeks were flushed and she wore furs that seemed to exhale an intoxicating perfume. Something made her stop him.

"Where are you hurrying to?" she asked.

"I do not know. Home," he faltered.

"Why do you not go out more?" she asked gravely; "you are growing paler every day."

He could find no answer and was silent. He could see her look at him strangely. He almost felt a longing in her look and some force seemed to be driving words to his lips. She still hesitated. He could see the firm lines of her neck, covered by the fur as it was, and he found he could not take his eyes from her face. She was trembling as she fathomed some of his thoughts.

"I must be going," she said in a low voice; "good-night to you, Andreas."

Then he found words.

"Do not go, Marya," he said, the words leaping from his heart to his lips; "do not go. Do not leave me so lonely. It is so lonely in this town. I have been thinking of you for months and could not tell you. Listen, Marya——"

Her crimson lips were apart, and there was a look in her eyes that he had not seen before.

"Listen, do not laugh at me. I love you, Marya. Ah, you are so wonderful,—like my old mistress, such a lady that I could not speak to. I see you are listening, Marya. I will work, work for you till my eyes are blind. I shall never heed the passing of the hours at the shop—praise God, I shall not always be there. They will fly if I know I am coming home to you, Marya. Ah, that would be wonderful—to have a home, and you my wife to smile welcome to me, to be waiting for me! I am frightening you." He stopped suddenly as she seemed to step back; "what is it? It is not too late?"

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He hung upon her answer in agony. He had found himself, and all his passion ran riot through his brain in a crimson flood.

She flushed red and then white.

"It is too late, Andreas," she said painfully. "It is too late. You have spoken too late."

He stood staring at her, his arms outstretched.

"There is another?"

"There is another," she repeated in a faltering voice. "Do not despise me, Andreas. There may be—I shall soon be a mother."

Andreas looked at her in a dream.

"Marya! Marya!" he said in a choked whisper. "Oh, that I could bear your pains and your sorrow!" and he made as if to clasp her in his arms.

She looked at him with infinite love. Her arms went out and then fell by her side, and she walked away with bowed head, leaving him standing. He took a step or two forward and stopped. An hour passed and he was still standing, staring in the direction she had gone.

When he got home Feodor was packing up his few belongings.

"Andreas," he said abruptly, "I am leaving. I cannot stand it any longer. Your silence is driving me crazy."

Andreas heard him in silence.

"I am going to take up house now. I have a girl."

"You are married?" said Andreas, a terrible suspicion crowding all other thoughts out of his mind.

Feodor laughed coarsely.

"Why should I? She loves me. That is enough. We have been going together for some time. I may be father to a squalling brat soon. Who knows? Let me advise you to do the same. There's no ill feeling, Andreas. I'll keep the key and come and see you soon. I must be on my way," he continued uneasily, awed by the silence of his comrade. "Good-night."

Andreas heard the door shut and the steps die away, and then fell on his knees in an agony of tears. He knew perfectly well where Feodor was going.

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From that night he never saw Marya again. She went. Where do women of her kind go? But ever in his mind there remained the image of her standing there in her furs, her little feet in velvet boots, her eyes wet with tears. He sought her everywhere, but both she and Feodor had moved and he could find no trace of her. Every evening after his work he would wander about the streets, hoping against hope that they would accidentally meet. He felt sure that he had only to see her to forgive all and to give her that happiness she had sought in vain elsewhere. He knew Feodor by now, and he saw nothing but unhappiness for Marya.

He began to have queer fancies and whims. When a man lives alone he has a neighbor next door who comes visiting once in a while, then frequently till it becomes a companionship which leads to the madhouse. In his case it took a curious form.

One day he saw in a shoe store a small pair of golden shoes. They were a special pair and they caught his eye with their gayness—so small and yet so perfect. The first time he saw them he seemed to see Marya's little feet in them dancing, dancing over the floor of his room. He stopped before the window in a dream. In the evenings as he hurried home he would stop and see if they were still there. He began to have a feeling of ownership in them. He wondered how they would look in his room. If he had them, would not Marya be sure to come? He built up a romance about them. They almost seemed part of Marya, something that she might have worn. The fancy grew upon him intolerably, and one evening as he stood at the window, the proprietor came to the door.

"Some shoes, eh? You want a pair of shoes."

"No. No. I was looking——"

"Something for your girl, then?"

"I have none," he said shortly.

"You will have one soon, a fine gentleman like you. A pair of slippers. There is a fine gold pair now. Fifteen dollars. There's a bargain for you."

Andreas hurried home. He counted up his money—seven dollars. That was all. One saves slowly on the East Side.

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He began to scamp and pinch. His food was cut down to practically nothing. He grew thin, but his little store of money increased. He saw it mount from seven to fourteen dollars, and next week he knew the shoes were his. But one more dollar, and then— He delivered himself up to a delirium of fancy. The little shoes in his room—and perhaps Marya. She would come. She must come. That would be the lure. There on the chest of drawers the shoes would stand empty waiting for the little feet to fit them. At night he could shut his eyes and see them come tripping over the floor so gaily and lightly. He had only to have them and Marya would come. They were so dainty and pretty, such shoes as his mistress the barinya had worn at home. He could recall the delicate arch of her instep as it peeped out from the silken skirt. He remembered his eyes had sought them always when she gave her orders to him. To him they symbolized then something unattainable. He could not sleep at night, fearing that they might be gone from the store. He would count his money over and over again. One dollar more and they would be his. Marya must come.

As he hurried home on Saturday with his seven dollars held tight within his pocket, he looked into the store window. The shoes were there waiting for him and Marya. His heart beat happily and he hurried on. As he came to the door Feodor brushed past him, coming out without a word of greeting. Andreas would have stopped him, but he hurried on roughly and was lost to sight.

Andreas was possessed by a terrible fear. His money, his savings. He rushed up the stairs and into his room, pulled out his drawer and uttered a heartrending cry. There was nothing there.

How many hours went by he knew not, but when he came to himself it was dark, dark everywhere, in his mind even. Slowly he raised himself from the floor, put on his hat and went out. Some devil guided his wandering feet past the shoe store. There in the darkened window with the blind up were the golden shoes. Something leapt within him, and picking up a stone he smashed the window. He did not hear the clatter of the glass. The shoes, the shoes were his at last! His hand was touching

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them when a heavy grasp fell upon his shoulder with horrible suddenness.

"You would, would you?" said a strong voice, and he felt himself dragged along he knew not whither.

In court he heard voices speak, but could see nothing. A darkness was before his eyes, and he was led away, still silent, still oppressed and without knowledge.

"Next case," said the magistrate wearily. "What are we to make of those people? Their fingers are always itching to steal. It is born in them. And lady's shoes! It's beyond me. It's beyond me."

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THE INNER SEA

EDWIN DAVIES SCHOONMAKER

I SAT all day on the shore of despair,
And the wreck of the world went by,
The beautiful world I had made,
Bright green from the days when my heart unafraid
Had globed her and clothed her fair.
And a Voice came out of the low gray sky
And rang o'er the wreck wind-driven,
"Where is he that was Lord of the Ship?
Where is he that had song on his lip?
Where is he whose heart at a bound went over the towers of heaven?"

And I said, "Yea, Lord, here am I,
A bowed and an humble man.
I have no place in Thy plan.
All that I am is gone.
I am here on the coast alone.
Let me die."

Then I was aware of a sea in a sea and a sky in a sky, and it lay
Bright gold amid clouds of gray:
And the inner sea was fair
As the heart of an amethyst.
And the dawn of my youth was there
Leaning low to the seas;
And the noon of my manhood gathered the breeze,
And rigged and bannered, with eager keel,
She rose aloft on her quest.
And high in the mast my heart sang free,
For the calm of God was the sea,
And His winds blew merrily,
And I was awake at the wheel.

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GOD'S PIONEER

PAUL KESTER

RATHER he who walks
Before his fellows,
All alone perchance
And mocked by those
Who follow him,
Yet leading them,
Even when stumbling
Finding out the path
Along which they must come
Even to jeer and stone him
Should he fall.
Rather this one
Whose only passion may be
To turn back,
But whose impelling soul
Forbids him any ease;
Rather this one
Whose very service
Wakens derision where he benefits,
Who knows no other acclamation
Than the people's scorn,
Whose leadership must wait
Its conscious followers
A hundred or a thousand years;
Rather this one
Upon whose shoulders rests
The invisible purple,
Rather to this one honor
Than to him who needs
But smite his hands
And bid the multitude obey.

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OPEN THE GATES

THINK ye the hungry pray,
Think ye that frozen fingers
Will forever count the beads?
They will not, nor thin lips
Repeat the praises
Of a distant God.
Who holds the gates?
Hath he no heart?
Is goodness only merciless
In heaven and earth?
Is righteousness alone
Unpardoning?
Who shuts the door
'Gainst him who seeks the temple?
Who would turn
The wanderer backward
Were his foot advanced
But half a pace
Upon the upward path?
Shall all the sky be dark
Alone to those
Who have most need of light?
Open the gates
And let us pass
To whatsoever Heaven
Or refuge there may be.
Open the gates
Wide to the weary world:
Who would deny
One pilgrim sanctuary
When he sought
With bleeding feet
And outstretched hands
The shrine?
Open the gates:

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Thy God will not turn back
The desperate multitude.

POSSESSION

TO hold the thing we covet,
That we may not keep,
To call it ours, ours only,
And to know
We only mock
The moment that is ours,
Measuring it by the eternity
Of other wheres and whiles;
Upon the bosom
Of the infinite
Our day
Is reckoned by a breath;
We grasp the good or ill
That drifts toward us
On the tides of time,
We clutch the straws,
We count them,
Name them,
Love them,
Seal them our own;
We speak the ships that pass us:
O helmsman, whitherward?
Vainly we strive, perhaps,
To steer our course with theirs;
The night descends:
We hail them—
They are gone.

SILENCE

ONE voice alone
Is hushed,
And silence falls.
One greeting in the morning,

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One good-night,
And all
The deeper speech
Of eyes,
The kindlier assurance
Of clasped hands,
Is lost;
And suddenly
The tongue of all things
Is grown dumb,
Stammers
A sigh that is
The requiem of laughter,
A consent
That is become
The epitaph
Of joy.

THE FINAL REFUGE

I SEE the end,
I know
My path leads
But a little way;
Then the long silence
Waits me
And the deep peace
Of an eternal sleep.
No more shall I outstretch
My hands
Toward the unattainable,
No more be uncontent,
No more expectant,
O no more unsatisfied!
Death opens wide
The doors of refuge,
And I shall pass them
Unaccompanied
To lie down alone.

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THE DEAD MARCH

In Götterdämmerung

CHARLES HANSON TOWNE

NOT only did I hear
The thundering chords that swept round Siegfried's bier,
But I heard, mysteriously low,
The far and solemn tread
Of the old army of the mighty dead—
They who went marching long and long ago
Toward the great blinding glory of God's place.
I saw each beautiful face,
More beautiful now in death;
I heard their quiet footfalls as they passed,
I saw triumphant banners in the sun
As one by one
They filed before me, happy, happy at last.
I heard faint bugles and far mystic singing,
I heard the echo of a lark's song ringing
Above the hushed solemnity and peace
Of this slow march that sang the Great Release.

They moved before me—the exultant dead!
One came, a glistening helmet on his head,
Then popes and kings in white and purple and red;
And legions from old battles, emperors
And mighty captains from adventurous wars;
High poets, and sad seekers of the Grail
With countenances pale;
Imperial hosts that dazed me with their glory;
Silent, yet eloquent with Death's new story—
A wonder on their lips I could not read,
I who was living indeed.

I saw them pass—sinner and saint and sage,
Sovereign and beggar of an ancient age,

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Tatters and pomp one at the final hour—
One, one at last in that vast harmony,
The concentrated utterance of sound
That every falseness drowned
In a wide peace, immortally profound,
Beyond the borders of Immensity.

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RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

HAROLD S. PAUL

I

WE who possess republican institutions have long been accustomed to believe that in the right of choosing public officials we hold in our hands the means of self-government—that is, at least, the means of making our governments representative of our wishes. From which it would follow that evil government among us, wherever it occurs, must owe its existence either to the low character and desires or to the culpable negligence of the electorate suffering from it.

The prevalent feeling has been thus expressed by one of our public men: "We have the government, municipal, State, or national, which we make for ourselves. If it is good, it is because we make it so. If it is bad, we may think it is not what we want, and that we are not responsible for it; but it is none the less just what it is simply because we will not take the trouble necessary to improve it. There is no greater fallacy than the comfortable statement so frequently heard that we owe misgovernment, when it occurs anywhere, to the politicians. If the politicians are bad, and yet have power, it is because we give it to them. They are not a force of nature with which there is no contending; they are of our own creation, and if we disapprove of them and yet leave them power, it is because we do not care to take the trouble, sometimes the excessive trouble, needful to be rid of them. People in this country, as in other countries, and as in all periods of history, have, as a rule, the government they deserve."

Let us briefly consider how far the power of choosing our own officials is capable of securing to us the kind of government we desire. Let us suppose, as the simplest cast, that our only wish is for honest government. How are we now to be sure of our honest man, one who intends to serve, not himself or his friends, but the whole community? Few of the voters can be

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expected to know a candidate at first hand. And even that would help little, since most men appear to have two codes of ethics at present, one for their private, and one for their public lives. Even where there is a past public record, is there not difficulty enough in learning the truth of it? It is a matter of partisan statement and misstatement, after all. For under the system of checks and balances (which is so needful to-day when the voters' control of their government ends with election-day), no result stands as the work of one man; so that no man is thus to be judged, alone. Good and evil survive or go down together.

Then, too, observe that the chance of obtaining good government is not by any means equal to the chance of putting men with honest intentions into office. Hell, it is said, is paved with good intentions; and many a new light has dawned on a chosen official's course after election day. Yet the electors are powerless then. They have made their choice and, no matter how much they have been deceived, they have no right to alter or amend their judgment.

Theoretically (by which is generally meant leaving human nature out of account), this impossibility of correcting their errors should make voters doubly careful. In daily practice, however, the fact that our efforts may not be attended by corresponding results, the hopelessness of avoiding mistakes, is demoralizing. No man is given to weighing his acts when the utmost care he can give affords no assurance against disaster.

Again, the knowledge that they cannot better their choice, once made, for a term of months, perhaps years, takes away the voters' incentive to watch the conduct of their officials after election. And thus even public opinion, the only restraining force left, is devitalized. It not only becomes a vague, voiceless thing, but it too often sleeps, and the office-holder is left absolutely irresponsible. True, at the end of his term, he will have to account for his acts if he seeks to be reëlected. But shrewd men before this have gone their own ways for nine-tenths of their terms, knowing well that a little honest activity during the last weeks would outweigh the memory of many earlier faults. Nor does it help to censure a weakness of human nature. It is a

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truth to be reckoned with that the present occupies a disproportionate part of the human horizon.

Besides, what restraint on dishonest men is our right to remove them from office after their deeds have been done and paid for? Many a single transaction has filled a dishonest man's pockets for life. Reëlection need not be the thought of such men, if one election assures them the legal possession of their offices for a term that cannot be interfered with.

The scrupulous man hesitates to accept public office. Not so the man who intends to use it to serve himself and his friends. He not only feels no reluctance to undertake the charge of affairs, but he and his fellows even stand ready to pay for the right. The machine, the boss, the political worker, with all that these names imply, are inevitable products of the system—men organized to win public office for private advantage.

Not that the bosses seek office themselves. Indeed, they frequently name and lend their support to men of the highest honor—a proof in itself of the people's desire for honest government. Yet what a pity that good men allow themselves thus to be used to conceal the true character of the thing behind them! What we are apt to forget is that the professionals put these men forward to serve their own ends. They intend to have full return for their trouble, be sure; and every contributor through them intends the same. It is still the backers who win when their candidate wins, be he angel or devil.

But, after all, how does this knowledge help us? Where shall we turn? We distrust machine candidates. But is a man necessarily honest because he has taken the name "Independent"? Truly, to-day, the presumption should be in his favor. But this presumption will only be valid so long as it helps little. Let "Independence" gain enough popular favor to carry elections, and every machine tool will wear the name.

It takes time and money, moreover, to win elections, even to lay the bare truth before voters. And few men, without help, can be expected to make the sacrifice year after year. It is only those who intend to make use of the spoils of victory who can afford to maintain themselves or their puppets constantly in the field.

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The fact that from time to time the people of various communities have risen in their might, overthrown the machines, and set up, as it were, a government of their own, is supposed to prove that they could, if they wished, keep their governments perennially pure with no more than their present means. Nothing said above is intended to deny the *possibility* of the people's obtaining good government to-day; it is certainly not deniable that they could vote down the recognized politicians, if this would mean honest government. But it is not what the people *could* do, with enormous effort, that counts; but what they may be expected to do. The expense and labor of organizing "reform" every year would be very great. Nor is it worth while to say that good government, even if thus assured, would repay the people for *any* amount of expense to obtain it. Important as honest government is, it may still fall far short of what is desired, and yet be endurable. Government plays a great part in our lives, but at least under free institutions it is not everything. Citizens ought to consider, indeed, if our free institutions themselves are not menaced by present conditions. "The notes of alarm regarding the decadence of the legislative systems of the United States are numerous," wrote Daniel Coit Gilman, ten years ago. "Unless the present tendencies are corrected, confusion and error will not be the greatest evils." Again, Mr. Bryce has warned us against our too heedless confidence in our star, our too heedless toleration of faults in our politics. Yet, after everything has been said, the fact remains that machine rule, with all that that name implies, is bound to be tolerated to the extent that government in accordance with the popular will is difficult of attainment. How many times we have tried to clean house, only to find in the end that we have but altered the names of the beneficiaries of corruption! Sooner or later the old state of things returns; and the very name of reform is held in contempt.

We have believed for too long that the right of electing our own officials secures us the kind of government we desire. Much of the evil itself as we have it to-day may be traced to the idea that honest government under the present system is merely a matter of choice with the people. The feeling which everyone has

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that his fellows are negligent weakens all individual interest and effort, the only safeguards against the evil's indefinite growth; while voters as a body are blinded to the true gravity of the situation by the belief that they have it constantly in their power to alter it when they shall choose. If acknowledged despotism had inflicted on the people of America one-tenth of the outrages they have suffered from their republican Governments—nay, if it had but shown its hand in their affairs, either for evil or for good—they would long since have swept it out of existence. But, as it is, we flatter ourselves that our Governments are our own creatures, that we are responsible for their existence and for everything that they do, and we therefore cheerfully bend our backs to the burdens they choose to impose.

We may not believe quite all our humble official servants tell us about their devotion to our interests; we certainly do not believe that affairs are all managed to-day precisely as we would have them; but we do believe that we *could* have them managed so. And an evil loses its terrors if we can end it, or think we can, at our pleasure.

There is another result of this misbelief. Earnest patriots see the dangers ahead, and the fear is not absent from many minds that democracy has been proven a failure. Yet it is not democracy that has failed. The essence of democracy is the perpetual sovereignty of the people. It does not consist of the right of abdicating that sovereignty once every year or two years into the hands of whatever men can count the most votes on election day.

II

Governments rightfully exist for the sake of the people, deriving their only just powers from the consent of the governed. It is the right of the people, therefore, at all times to see that no act or omission of government contravenes their desires. That this is not an impracticable right is now no longer open to question; and for the various other objections that may be made to its practical application, experience also, in many parts of the country, affords the best answer.

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It may be said, however (and this for each new community in its turn), that the people do not wish the right. Let them speak for themselves. Or, again, that they would not make use of the right if they had it—rights being more clamored after than duties. Even in that case, we answer that there would be nothing lost. Certainly, there is no reason to think that voters would do any less than they do now because of their readier means of obtaining their wills. It is too true to-day that a great many voters have to be dragged to the polls to perform the first duty of citizenship; but is not this due, in part, at least, to the hopelessness of the task there? Is it not true that these very voters, for instance, have often been at great pains, even under present conditions, to signify to their representatives their approval or disapproval of some act or proposition of government? And is it still maintained that they would not have gone to the polls to declare their wills, had they had the right?

Yet the great gain to be expected from popular rights of supervision is not, after all, that a few wrongful acts or omissions of government would be corrected, but that a great many others would be prevented. The power to act would largely free us from the necessity of acting. For what would it profit officials to try to defy or neglect the public? And private interests would not be likely to spend time and money corrupting the officers of government when the acts of the latter might not be final, and certainly would not be final in cases of palpable wrong.

It is feared by some persons, however, that if the people possessed the right of self-government, they would not only use it to do what officials omitted to do or did unsatisfactorily, but would attempt to determine all matters whatever in the first instance. "We should have mob rule," our trembling politicians cry—thereby signifying their dread of that kind of government which a nobler American termed "by the people." Could anything be more extravagant than the idea that the majority of the people of a community would go to the trouble and expense of direct government so long as their chosen officials were doing all they wished done in a satisfactory manner! Yet far from fearing so great a love of self-government, so wide and active a public spirit, we should make haste to adopt any means that

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promise to awaken it. There is no danger but that its excesses would be self-corrective, while it would sound the death-knell of every political vampire.

Whose is the government? Whom is it for? And what man or body of men can determine as well as the people themselves what the people desire? Truly, the people are not always wise in their wishes. Yet, in the long run, their interests coincide with their duties, which cannot be said of the personal interests of any individual possessed of an independent authority over them. It is not even necessary to think that our present officials have ever betrayed us intentionally; but they are always beset in our absence by seekers of special favors, whose one-sided arguments frequently blind and confuse them. We know what arguments have been advanced in the past to influence government—arguments which could not well be used to persuade an entire electorate.

If it be said that the people are unfit to judge of specific measures, how much less capable must they be of judging of men and foreseeing what these men will do if intrusted with power? Ignorance does not put honest experts in office. Nor does dishonesty; nor irresponsibility. These things are even doubly a menace now. For when everything hangs on the one great prize of election, self-seeking men can afford to spend vast sums of money to win votes; which they could not do in equal measure for each particular prize.

With the people in full control of affairs this at least is indubitable, that their government would be the best they desired, deserved, or were capable of. And "a people which had the most just laws, the purest and most efficient judicature, the most enlightened administration, the most equitable and least onerous system of finance, compatible with the stage it had attained in moral and intellectual advancement, would be in a fair way to pass rapidly into a higher stage." * To deny this is to deny the natural progressiveness of man.

There is no expectation of substituting "direct" for "representative" government. It is desired merely to supplement and correct the abuses which have crept into the representative

* Mill, *Representative Government.*

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system—to make it indeed representative. When we have said all, the fact remains that, no matter how much the people desire to do for themselves, the bulk of the work of government must always devolve on their representatives. What, then, would be the effect of the people's supremacy on the character of public officials?

It may be necessary to remind the reader that public office is naturally honorable. Although evil, incapable men have brought it into some disesteem, it still has attractions for men of large views and a noble ambition which few other fields possess. What has kept such men out of the service thus far is the fact that it has, as it stands to-day, even greater attractions for evil men, who find it well worth their while to organize, spend money, bribe, and cajole to get into office, not only often winning by these means over their worthier rivals, but sooner or later disgusting the latter, who find themselves mingled and judged with the mass of self-seekers in hopeless confusion, and this notwithstanding the fact that public office to them often means a considerable pecuniary sacrifice. The wonder is, not that true men do not seek public office at present in greater numbers, but that any ever seek it. The explanation is simply that given above, that such office is in its essence attractive to good men. Let its attractions be lessened for rogues and their tools, and there will not be a dearth of the kind of men we require.

But, it is asked, would the people be satisfied when they had cleared their house of corruption and evident incapacity? Would they not drive out all men of superior talents as well, reducing the whole public service to the level of their own inexperienced mediocrity? Such is the charge made against the representative system in general. Would it be more or less true with the people perpetually supreme?

In the first place, it does not follow that men desire to level all things to their own original ideas because they dislike to be cheated. Corruption in the government is plainly against your interest and mine; but new ideas, however strange at the first, are at least debatable. Certainly, nothing could now be done in contempt of the people. Government, probably, would not be very far, good or evil, from what they desired. But this does

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not mean that its conduct would be what the average voter would make it were he in control. There is obviously a difference between having great ideas of our own and being able to appreciate great things when others show us the way. Office-holders, indeed, might be under a greater necessity of explaining new projects; but would not this be a gain pure and simple? Or is it thought that the dignity of officials would be thus hurt?

When we come to their actual power and freedom, it is a well-known fact (thought by some to be the greatest danger to which free government is exposed) that the people are very tolerant of authority wielded with their consent. They not only do not prescribe strict limits to it, since that might be to limit themselves, but they often allow their officials to overstep even the wider limits. We are obliged to put legal obstacles in the way of otherwise irresponsible officers. It is our only safeguard; yet the result is to keep our affairs in the beaten path. Those, on the other hand, who cannot leave the path but with the people's consent may be left largely free to select their own way. Nor is a truly sovereign people so jealous of its servants as to deny them their choice when made. That jealousy of power which makes men prefer mediocre to great public servants is a result of the weakness, not of the strength, of the popular body.

The pure representative form of government is, no doubt, unfavorable to genius. We do not desire to lend our might to our intellectual masters. We do not comprehend them, perhaps, and we fear to arm them against us. We are suspicious of genius that does things in spite of us. But if we had the right to reject its proposals at pleasure might we not hear them with patience, and often accept them?

Again, with the people above all officials there would be less need than there now is of setting the latter as checks on each other—a system destructive at once of responsibility and of independence.

When it is said that the people's control would make office-holders mere trucklers to popular whims, it is easy to answer that they are that now (if indeed not worse, being too often trucklers to vicious "interests"). Those who desire to-day to hold on to their offices must not neglect any clamor or breath

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from the people's direction. For it *may* be the will of the majority, and to do but a single thing contrary to that will is now to invite defeat at the next election, since the electors have either to pass by and seem to approve of the act they dislike, or remove the actor.

This would be changed with the new system. Then an official would have no such dread of a single failure to meet with the people's approval. The latter would not be obliged to replace him, but would correct his error merely. Nor would he have to watch straws to decide how the popular current was flowing.

The hundreds of petty things done by our Governments, often conflicting, and parts of no one plan, have led observers to think that the people, for whom it all seems to be done, must indeed be a fickle, incapable beast with a hundred whims and no purpose. Yet this continual shifting and veering is the result of our "representatives" *not* knowing what their constituents wish; hearing this voice to-day and another to-morrow, never the whole people's voice at once on a definite issue.

Absolute monarchies keep a more steady course than elective governments, but is their course to be admired? The Russian peasant complains in vain; while we, having the power to change our officials, do change them often. Should we allow them to stand, being unsatisfactory? This is our fickleness, then: a discarding year after year of what we find evil, an unceasing search after better things. So may it ever be! Order is too dearly bought at the price of liberty. It can be had by a free-minded people only when they are their own masters and when their Governments correspond with their best aims. Then, never fear, we shall have order—not of the dull, stagnant kind, but of movement and progress, the order of marching men.

We have reserved for the last place the strongest reason for popular government. No matter whether the people retain control of affairs, or whether their only right is to choose their officials at stated intervals, it is upon their wisdom at last that good government hangs. A government may be a great deal worse than the people wish (if they haven't the right to control it), but it will never be permanently better. Let us no longer

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deceive ourselves. Men whose participation in public affairs begins and ends with selecting officials are not fitted even to do that. "It is indeed difficult," says De Tocqueville, "to conceive how men who have entirely given up the habit of self-government should succeed in making a proper choice of those by whom they are to be governed; and no one will ever believe that a liberal, wise, and energetic Government can spring from the suffrages of a subservient people."

To-day, when the voter's sole right is to choose his officials, his education is almost wholly derived from the tumult of the election campaign, when all is partisan statement and misstatement. Why should he wish to hear unbiassed views, when his only right is to choose between what the official candidates promise? Or why, again, should he study and think much of government problems between campaigns when he has no power to act? If he *had* that power he would have every incentive to think of the various problems of government. Interest, pride, self-respect would all be concerned. The whole conception of citizenship would become ennobled. Each man would have a new sense of responsibility; and, being called upon often to think of the public well-being, he would perceive that he had a hand in it. It is the commonplace of political moralists that we shall have good government only when there is a strong sense of public duty among the citizens. But there is no other way to strengthen this equal to giving each man a direct part in public affairs.

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PROBLEMS OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER

A CAPTURED wife or a purchased wife can have little authoritative to say concerning her condition in marriage or the terms of her dismissal or her escape from the marriage bond, provided she may be dismissed or is allowed to escape. A wholly subject woman can have no legal power to determine who shall represent the authority of the family which hands her from one guardian to another. There can be, therefore, no problems of marriage and divorce, in the sense in which we now use the words, until there is a possibility of a marriage contract legally defined and binding alike on husbands and on wives; and there can be no marriage contract until women have at least a few personal rights secured to them by law and custom. The rise of the marriage contract, therefore, with its recognition of some power of personal choice and some right of individual liberty accorded to women, is the suggestive clue to the course of social evolution which in any given era outlines the terms of legal marriage. The rise of the marriage contract is itself, however, simply one element in the slow movement of society toward the recognition of contract powers in general, and the emergence of women from a perpetual legal minority. Problems of marriage and divorce, therefore, are and must be parts of the whole problem of the just and useful position of women in society. This is the reason why ultra opponents of "Women's Rights" always and instinctively relate the greater freedom of women to domestic disaster; and this is also the reason why the ultra proponents of "Women's Rights" as instinctively begin their demand for larger sharing of the powers and obligations of social life by women with some radical attack upon that family order which rests upon the legal despotism of the husband and father.

There is to-day a feeling of almost hysterical alarm regarding the present conditions of family life. The demonstrable and large increase of divorces throughout Christendom, the weakening of family ties by reason of changed economic, educa-

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tional and social conditions which secure to minor children as well as to wives great freedom of choice and liberty of action, give deep concern to all, and awaken moral terror in many. No one, however, who really believes that we should not return to the absolute control of women by men, and to the harem and the zenana as the ideal home, need be in fear of any unique domestic catastrophe.

Most of us have come to believe that marriage and the family are social institutions, rising in answer to social needs and changing in accordance with general social evolution, and at no time to be studied as isolated facts, but rather always as related parts of the whole process of social development. All who believe in this manner should approach the problems of marriage and divorce with clear minds and sunny tempers, with breadth of vision and with balanced judgment. Such students at least can remember, and with satisfaction, that the statistics of divorce, which so often provoke pessimism respecting our American family life, must be read in connection with other statistics which prove a progressively higher average of just and noble family relationship among those who do not become divorced. The facts of scandalous proceedings in the "smart set" should never blind the judicious to those other facts which show that the "malefactors of great wealth" are few, and the favored of fortune who behave like silly and wicked youth are a small minority. Admitting, however, the distinct increase in divorces relative to population, and accepting it as an evil in that which it indicates as well as in that which it proves, there must also be confessed a considerable and regrettable trend of modern life in the direction of the instability of the family. The love of change and the impatience of control among our youth; the easy movement of population which makes "home" often but an attachment to the moving-van; the flexible yet complicated social arrangements which make it easy to shirk individual responsibility; the economic pressure, intensified by the desire so painfully common to live more luxuriously than one can afford; the widespread results of invention which release many from drudgery before they are fitted for skilled labor; the free public education which enables many to appropriate the superficial

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fruits of culture before they have attained moral discrimination in their efficient use for the higher purposes of life—all these and many more elements of our rapidly changing civilization tend to make the home and all its interests subject to unprecedented disturbance from the many-sided life without. Also we must give serious attention to the fact that in the United States there is great divergence of inherited standards, laws and customs regarding the basis of marriage, the righteousness or wickedness of possible divorce and the propriety or impropriety of remarriage after domestic changes, which confuses the matter. For want of a clear ideal of religious values and social demands involved, the rule of personal desire and individual idiosyncrasy has too great predominance. Here, where ethical doctors disagree and moral teachers widely differ, youth makes its ideal an exaltation of romance in marriage choices; and mature years demands the right of the most extreme individualism. The sense of intellectual freedom to believe what one wishes, and the "will to believe" what is most pleasant and seems most easy to realize in action, often join to make individual preference the only rule of life.

We have in our marriage laws and customs reminiscences in a specific manner of the three main channels of thought and life which make up what we call Christian civilization. We have first the Jewish ideal of marriage, which has come to us with our special religious inheritance. This is an ideal which includes a belief in the rightful and proper subjection of women to men, but exacts of men protection for women. It elevates the conception of marriage to a plane of purity and faithfulness superior alike to celibacy and to unchastity; but includes divorce, easy for men to obtain, difficult for women; yet justifiable for both, provided the terms of separation and of possible remarriage are defined by the wisdom of the law as interpreted by rabbis. We have also a large inherited influence from the Roman law which has given the legal basis of all our later statutes and which has modified all tribal customs of the Germanic peoples. In Roman marriage, the patrician form, religious and indissoluble, and the plebeian form, secular and legally terminable, but carefully guarded as a legal contract, both

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hold firmly respect for family autonomy as well as the subordination of caprice to justice and right. These elements of the sacred and the secular marriage of Roman law are retained in some form in our present civilization. We have inherited also another potent influence upon the domestic order, one which is in our blood more than in our religion or our law, namely the Anglo-Saxon love of personal liberty and sense of individual rights; that which first gave to women a voice in the disposition of their own persons, and initiated for our special social order a proud restraint upon the tendency of the family to sacrifice to its own autonomy the happiness and well-being of its members. These varied ideals and elements of custom and law were all incorporated by Latin Christianity into its control of marriage, although all were modified and changed in emphasis. The Church adopted the high demand for faithfulness in the marriage tie, the subordination of woman to man in the domestic life, and the ethical significance of the family order which the Jewish religion inculcated. It rejected Jewish divorce and lowered the rank of marital virtue by placing celibacy above it in the scale of spiritual excellence. The Church accepted as its own standard the patrician form of Roman marriage as a religious sacrament, indissoluble save by death, and making second marriages even after such bereavement rather shameful concessions to human weakness. A large trace, however, of the plebeian form of secular regulation is to be found in the history of all Christian nations; and Protestant Christianity restored the State to its superior control over marriage. The trend of all laws, customs and moral reforms in Christendom, especially in Protestant Christendom, has been toward a wider and deeper realization of the Germanic respect for womanhood and the Anglo-Saxon forms of marriage, after the right of contract was recognized and the social value of the wife in part estimated. Especially has Christian civilization appropriated the Germanic idea that a woman has some right to refuse to marry a hated or disliked man, and that youth has a right to selective love and its fruitage in a chosen union of the sexes.

To-day these varied reminiscences of our past mixed inheritance give us disagreements even in the fundamentals of ethical

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ideals in marriage; and often the friction that we develop in discussion dates back to our composite union of national ideals in the melting pot of early Christianity.

Wherever and whenever the rights of women are recognized as those belonging to all human beings alike, there and then arise problems of marriage and divorce. For there and then marriage becomes a *contract,* and a contract can be broken for the same reasons that a contract may be made, namely, the good of the parties involved. The difficulties inhering in the adjustment of the domestic order to—

> "Two heads in council,
> Two beside the hearth,
> Two in the tangled business of the world"

are identical with the difficulties that inhere in democracy as a general social movement. Despotism is easy if you can secure a despot capable of holding his place. All else is a matter of adjustment to justice and right; and all such adjustment is difficult. In the midst of the confusion of ideal and action one thing is sure; namely, that women in the new freedom that has come to them in the last hundred years of Christian civilization will not longer endure the unspeakable indignities and the hopeless suffering which many of them have been compelled to endure in the past. That last outrage upon a chaste wife and a faithful mother, enforced physical union with a husband and father whose touch is pollution and whose heritage to his children is disease and death, will less and less be tolerated by individual or by social morality. In so far as greater freedom in divorce is one effect of the refusal of women to sustain marital relations with unfit men—and it is very largely that to-day—it is a movement for the benefit and not for the injury of the family. Permanent and legal separation in such cases is now seen by most enlightened people to be both individually just and socially necessary. Whether such separation shall include remarriage of either or both parties is still a moot question in morals. The tendency, however, in all fields of ethical thought is away from "eternal punishment" and in the direction of self-recovery and of trying life experiments over again in the hope of

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a better outcome. It is likely that marriage and divorce will prove no exception to this hopeful tendency. Moreover, so far as the testimony of actual life is valid as against theories only, the countries where no re-marriage is allowed show a lower standard of marital faithfulness, of child-care and of true culture of the moral nature in the relationship of the family group, than is shown in those countries that grant for serious causes absolute divorce with full freedom for re-marriage.

That all divorces now obtained are for serious reasons, however, no one dare affirm. The most harmful element in the problem both in its personal and in its social aspects is the fact that selfishness, superficial and trivial causes of pique, of wounded vanity, of rash and childish whim, of even the mere suggestive power of newspaper scandals, may lead to a hasty and unnecessary termination of that most important of all human relationships, the marriage upon which the home is builded. The special need, however, even at this danger-point, is not to focus attention, as is usually done, upon evils to be avoided in divorce laws and their operation. What is needed most is studious and practical devotion to constructive social measures that may be adopted for aid to those in marital difficulty, and for the prevention of those social and personal conditions which lead to marital difficulty. It is high time we began to work for the lessening of *causes of divorce,* for relief in family distress and misery, for helpful measures of discipline through recognized and adequate agencies for all who need an external conscience and an outside judgment to make a success of their married life. Not only is it true that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, but it is also equally true that a pound of help at the right time and in the right way to weak and ignorant and wayward people is worth a ton of prohibition. What many people need most is not to be forbidden a divorce, but to be helped radically in their lives and in their circumstances to a position where they will not want a divorce.

In this connection we must consider the fact that our own is the first form of civilization that has tried in any large way the experiment of placing the entire burden of securing the success of marriage and the family life upon the characters and capaci-

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ties of two persons. In primitive social orders, and in the older civilizations, each married pair and their children were sustained and disciplined and in greater or less degree controlled by the collective family order in which they lived. Now, we trust two people in early youth, undisciplined, undeveloped, perhaps deficient in mental, moral, physical or economic power, to marry as they will; bear children or not without let or hindrance; take care of their children or not as seems desirable or possible to them; separate with ease, with or without legal procedure—and the burden of all the failures in marriage, parenthood and the family relationship is placed upon society as a whole. The consequences of the many failures that thus result have brought all thoughtful persons to the point where they see clearly that society, which in its social service is called upon to take care of failures, must assume a social control and discipline that will reduce those failures to the minimum. This means that we must come to an agreement about the method and extent of such social control of the present individualistic marriage as shall be just to persons and helpful to the social order.

The first question to be raised and answered in the effort to reach such an agreement is this: What force in modern society is adequate and suitable as the agency of such social control of the individualistic marriage in the interests of social welfare? The answer seems clear to many of us. The modern State is the only adequate and suitable agency for efficient social control of marriage. The old tyranny of tribal custom is gone; it will not return. The unquestioned despotism of the patriarchate is no more—and where is the sane person who would desire its revival? The family bond of blood relationship, which used to place all domestic responsibility in a "family council" with an acknowledged head, is already stretched to cover so wide an area of personal choice that it cannot hold firm against unsafe or unwise choices; and the tendency is toward more and more democracy in the family life. The accepted rule of rabbi and priest no longer exists, and he would be rash indeed who should urge its reinstatement with the support of the strong arm of the law. The modern State, however, has absorbed within itself the "mother-right" and the "father-rule"; the Church control

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and the educational standard; and the law, as the expression of its own will and not as the temporal enforcement of spiritual canons. The modern State is the final appeal in individual need and the ultimate authority in social conduct. Of all modern institutions, therefore, the State alone is powerful enough, definite enough, and united enough in its ethical demand, to accept and efficiently exercise for all mankind the responsibility of the care, the control and the development of individual life in all group relationships. It is, consequently, the only fit agency by which social control of individualistic marriage, in the interest of social well-being, may be assumed and maintained.

The most important first step, therefore, in efforts of constructive work toward securing the stability of the family is insistence upon a uniform civil marriage service. The civil authority over marriage needs no demonstration to any form of Protestant Christian faith; for it is wrought into the history of the more democratic forms of Church administration. The early settlers of the United States preserved clear traces of Cromwell's assertion of State control over marriage and family order in the requirement, universal in the colonies of New England and the Eastern Coast, that a magistrate alone should have power to legalize marriage. A "minister might be present" and "make a short exhortation," but he must "not preach a sermon" on such occasions, lest he thereby detract from the dignity of the civil officer. We have not kept that jealous regard for the civil marriage, since we now allow ministers of different faiths to legalize the relation between the sexes. But we do recognize that when the minister of any religion is allowed to legalize the marriage bond he does it with delegated power; for he has always to say, "By the power vested in me by the State I pronounce you husband and wife." It is clear to many of us that we should return, and at once, to the early New England requirement for a civil marriage as the true and only legalization, whatever additional religious service may be desired as satisfying the religious sentiment.

This required civil marriage should be limited in form to such words as persons of all religious faiths could conscientiously use; it should be performed in such place as would safeguard

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privacy and protect from all trivial and coarse associations; it should be performed only by special magistrates set apart for this important function, and capable of properly representing the dignity and power of the State in this most vital public and private concern. The beautiful "Halls of Marriage" of some European Guild buildings might well be reproduced in the United States. Justices of distinction and high character, who were no longer physically equal to the hardest work of the courts, might well be set aside for this task as a crowning honor and service. Women judges, also, when we have them, could serve well in this duty of ushering a new family group into existence.

If we could once establish the State in its rightful place of social control of marriage, we could then move on to the logical next step in securing greater stability and efficiency in the family order—namely, the protection of the family against the marriage of the unfit. The most radical and vital treatment of pathological conditions in the modern family is not to tinker with divorce, which at worst is only a symptom of deeper social disease, but to take measures to prevent so many people from marrying who are not physically, mentally, morally or economically able to make marriage a social advantage. The stability of the modern family, that is to say, the stability of the family under gradually extending democratic conditions, depends not alone or chiefly upon keeping people together who have once married, and that without regard to their worth or their happiness; but rather in removing from the currents of family descent the poisonous elements of human degeneracy which always make for social disorder and disintegration. Experience has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the largest producing cause of human misery and social retardation is the marriage and child-bearing of the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the victims of diseases induced by vicious habits, and of all those of degenerative psychosis tending toward insanity, crime or helplessness. We have a larger number of these degenerates, in relation to our population, than ever burdened preceding civilizations. That is because modern charity keeps such degenerates alive and safe where under harsher social conditions nature would kill them off early. We are, therefore, under bonds to future generations, if we would not

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make our very growth in social tenderness a means of social degeneration, to make it impossible for the markedly unfit to bring forth seed after their kind. When the State assumes its rightful control over marriage, the legal family can be wholly protected against this evil; and sexual relationships of an irregular sort can be made innocuous, to the future at least, by means of various forms of human "sterilization" already understood and to some extent practised. That "God gives children" who should never be born is a superstition that must be outgrown, if social progress is to be made in conditions where nature's hand is stayed in her useful destruction of the worse than useless human failures. The twin superstition that the sexual instinct is too personal and private a possession to be rightly governed by public laws must also be outgrown. Many States are trying experiments like those of Indiana along the line of such social control both of legal marriage and of sex-associations not legalized, as shall protect society against its worst foe, which is the hopeless incompetency to social demands of any considerable class of the population.

Next in importance to preventing marriages which should not be allowed, is to help in making more permanent and successful those that society has permitted. Here again it is not the effort to make "uniform divorce laws," of whatever sort, which is the vital thing—certainly not the effort to secure such uniform laws as will forbid all escape from the marriage bond even when it has become intolerable; nor is it the settlement of the vexed question of re-marriage after divorce. The vital thing is to secure such social agencies as may urge deliberation, offer wise counsel, and provide needed aid to ignorance and waywardness and wilful selfishness when difficulties appear in the family life. The vital need is for the State, aided by volunteer helpers, to place at the service of the foolish and the confused, the distressed and angry, a truly parental aid in "patching things up" and "trying to go on" even when the family outlook is dark and threatening. The new Domestic Relations Courts, one of which has been established in New York City, and one in Chicago, are a promising beginning of what is most needed. The Children's Court, with its probation system applied first to children only and now to delinquent parents with their children, has shown us the way.

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The number of grown-up children, people with adult bodies but childish minds and babyish tempers, is appalling. They need as careful and ingenious discipline as do minors, when they come to grief through faults and misfortunes. A set of magistrates, chosen for special qualities of mind and heart; a private hearing, where the interview may have the sacredness of the confessional; a probation system, made so flexible and all-embracing that it may worthily take the place of the old "family council" of an earlier type of domestic order; a rigid law, compelling a pause of some proper and specified time before the most rebellious couples are able to escape from their assumed obligations to each other; a needed relief from constant irritation of each other's presence while this pause exacts deliberation before final decisions; a tendency, strongly and consciously established by the Court of Domestic Relations, in favor of the rehabilitation of the family and against all separation or divorce not found to be necessary as a release from unbearable conditions—these are the vital needs to-day. To secure them, two things are absolutely essential; first, *the abolition by State law, rigidly enforced, of all commercial trafficking in divorce by any lawyer of any grade or sort;* and, second, a turning of the forces that make for moral guidance in the community from the negative to the positive, from the prohibitive to the constructive, in dealing with the problems of marriage and divorce. So long as any class of people in the community can make money by breaking up families, families will be broken up that might be held together. So long as the moral sense of the churches and of social workers is engaged chiefly in trying to get laws about divorce fixed in certain directions, rather than in trying to help people not to want to get divorced, there will be so heavy a responsibility laid upon the weak and undeveloped that they cannot measure up to its demands. We must make the family life more stable; that everyone admits. We can only make it more stable in a democratic society by working from within outward; from character and social condition toward law; not solely or chiefly by changes in statutes and by penalties for disobedience to laws made for the most part by people who are so wisely and happily married that they are wholly content!

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What if, after all has been done that can be done to keep married couples together and to secure a permanent father and mother for each child of such married couples, some people demand entire separation, legal divorce, and the privilege to remarry? Then it seems that in a democratic order, where the right of an individual to determine the main essentials of his life to his utmost power is guaranteed, society may not say nay to this demand. It is a tragedy if a marriage has proved so bad a mistake that death is preferable, as in many cases it is, to continued union. But the mistake itself is the tragedy, not the outward expression of it in legal divorce. It has been shown again and again that it is usually after the marriage has been really given up as impossible, and the couple have been definitely separated, however privately, for a considerable period, that the legal divorce is sought: that is to say, legal divorce is most often merely a public recognition of a private fact. As such it seems justified by social justice. There is no power that can make, through the law, a dead relationship live again. There is no possible miracle by which statutes can make love out of hatred, happiness out of misery, faith out of distrust, a home out of a prison from which a man and woman long only to escape. Nor can any law forbidding either separation or divorce make that a suitable place in which to bring up children which has become not a home, but such a prison. The State, however, when it assumes its rightful and needed control of marriage and family life, will make the children's welfare a chief consideration in settling vexed questions of giving or refusing divorce. Here again the present tendency to deal with such unfortunate children from a repressive and prohibitory point of view as related to their parents, must change to a positive and conscious tendency to minimize for the children themselves the misfortune incident to their parents' mistake or wrong-doing.

Far too little care is now exercised in regard to the conditions of life, moral and social, which surround the children of divorced parents. Where there has been such separation of fathers and mothers for causes which will not admit of palliative treatment such as has been suggested through a properly organized and administered Domestic Relations Court, the chil-

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dren of divorced parents should be held as wards of these Domestic Relations Courts during their minority. That provision in itself would act as an automatic check on haste and selfishness in seeking a divorce in the case of all parents who love their children. As wards of the Domestic Relations Court the children of divorced parents should have some special person, preferably not a relative of either parent and not a partisan friend of either, appointed by the court as a special guardian to look out for their interests solely. Perhaps the worst thing that can be done with such unfortunate children of divorced parents is the usual placing of them in a divided care: one part of each year with the father and his family, who "know the mother was seriously at fault whatever he might have done"; another portion of the year with the mother and her family, who are "morally certain that she was wholly in the right and the father wholly wrong." The conflicting atmosphere of two such homes, even in cases where each family life is restrained and careful in expressions before the child, is a bad surrounding for any young person. And where there are vulgar passion and unreasoning prejudice in full display before the bewildered loyalty of the child to both parents, the situation is cruel and hurtful in the highest degree. If a man and woman have made shipwreck of their married life and have brought children into the world, those children must be looked out for by some power above and beyond even parental love, in the interests of their own development and of the social good. In this world we pay for mistakes a penalty as great, save in the inner consciousness of rectitude of purpose, as for crimes. One of the penalties for mistakes in marriage is, or should be, this submission to the strong arm of the law in a disposition of the lives of the children involved that transcends parental control. There is no way in which the asset of parenthood can be divided when the marriage bond is broken. Therefore neither parent has exclusive right, even the "good" parent as against the "bad" one. The trick of the voice, the turn of the hand, the color of the eye, the shape of the head, the mental gift, the moral taint or cleanness, the very life and being of the child, partake of both parents. "Not even the power of Omnipotence," says the ancient poet, "can make that

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which has been as if it were not." Out of the wrong or the error of the union of these twain, this child has come into life. No decree of judge or jury can make it the child of but one parent. All that society can do, and that society should do, is to declare that this fruit of a broken promise shall have its own life as unshaded and as fair for growth as it can be made. To force both parents to live together in a horrible travesty of home cannot give those defrauded children their rights. To hand them over first to one, and then to the other parent, in a mixed and conflicting influence and devotion, cannot make good the lack of the united care of two people who love them and love each other. To give them wholly to the one parent thought most fit for their care is still to leave them orphaned and desolate; for some very poor specimens of mankind have a charm that children love and miss, even though the remaining caretaker has all the virtues! Nothing can make up to children for the death of their parents or for the loss from the living of the true feeling and united service of those between whom they seldom wish to "choose," but from both of whom they instinctively claim the best that can be given. The least that society can do for these children whom divorce of parents has thus afflicted is to assume a superior position of guardianship that shall minimize the evils of the situation and preserve as far as may be the feeling of loyalty to both parents until reason and judgment shall guide affection to a true understanding of the sad condition.

The greatest of all needs in this whole realm of obligation toward children is for more and more effective ethical training; suited to present and not to past social conditions. We cannot longer make people cower before "that hangman's whip, the fear of hell." We cannot longer make the majority of instructed people accept as final authority, and obey as a supreme command the canons of any church. We cannot longer secure in sufficient degree the higher ideals, and self-control in their realization now required, solely by the ancient appeal to filial feeling. That appeal to filial feeling rested for its greatest leverage upon a reverence for the superior wisdom of the old which is now endangered, if not destroyed, by the constant appeal to do new things to make the oncoming generation wiser and better than the last. All

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the movements of modern thought and life are against the old forms of social control which made for family stability and the sacrifice of personal desire for the welfare of offspring. We must translate our ethical teaching and our spiritual approach into new terms suited to the new idealism of the new social order. This is not hard to do, since social science, as truly as religion and family autonomy, makes the primal object of the family the well-being, the nurture, the training and the happiness of offspring. Social science makes it incumbent upon the man who would be a good citizen, and the woman who would make just return for social expenditure on her behalf, to place the interests of their children in marriage above all small demands of their own desires. No sociologist accepts Milton's idea of marriage as " an arrangement solely for the happiness " of individual men and women. Marriage is indeed the highest means society affords for securing the happiness of the majority of human beings. Marriage is also the finest and most effective moral discipline of both men and women who love each other and wish to, and do, call out the best in each other's nature. But if there are children born of the union, and marriage can hardly be fully complete either as joy or as discipline without children, then the social duty to make that marriage successful in the highest sense as a foundation for family life must be accepted as binding.

The deepest and most compelling need is, therefore, to reincarnate the old sanctities of the domestic order in new forms. Marriage must still, and more than of old, be considered a Sacrament. Not in the sense that elevates one church ceremony above all other rituals, and denies to adult human beings the right to free themselves from intolerable conditions provided certain formulæ have once been pronounced. But a Sacrament in the sense that makes marriage a spiritual as well as a physical bond, that makes it the outward symbol of the inner unity of the race.

Marriage, again, must be held, as our Anglo-Saxon ancestors made it appear, as a free contract between those who choose each the other. Not in the sense of that selfish individualism that makes freedom synonymous with a choice that regards only

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the passion of the heart, and that ends its obligation when its preference ceases. Not that—on peril of the loss of social order itself; but a free contract "on the soul's Rialto" in the sense of an inviolable right of selective love, to guide the path to the altar of a pledged devotion.

Marriage, again, must be held more consciously than it is now as a social arrangement for the benefit of society as a whole. Not in the sense of a mechanical control, that tries stupendous or even ludicrous experiments in artificial production of supermen and superwomen; but marriage as a social arrangement for the benefit of the social whole in the sense that subordinates even love itself, even the passionate longing of the lonely heart, to the higher interests of humanity and to the imperious demands of the social conscience.

To help thus in even the smallest degree to reincarnate the old sanctities of the family bond in new forms is a far better service at this time of unrest than, on the one side, to exalt freedom as an end in itself; or, on the other side, to try to revive obsolete forms of subjection of the individual to the domestic autonomy. Above all things socially futile and morally insolent is the attitude of men who attempt to solve alone, without either the judgment or the authority of women, the problems of marriage and divorce! There is nothing which so betrays and emphasizes the evil effect upon the spiritual nature of men of the long subjection of women to masculine control, as the findings of church councils and court decisions and academic discussions, in which men alone participate, as these are related to family life. The monstrous assumption that men can know better than women what women want, or ought to want, or really need, in that marriage relation which means to human beings of the mother-sex a tax upon the whole nature such as men cannot experience, would be impossible to decent and intelligent men were it not for the extreme egotism engendered in all human beings by the possession of unjust power over others.

On the other hand, nothing is more mischievous in a period like our own, when our ideals of democracy have run ahead of our social technique in their administration, than to ignore the claims of society to set metes and bounds by law to the relation

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of the sexes. To exaggerate the demands of romantic love as above those of the social good, is a mistake of the utmost danger. To assume the anarchistic attitude toward marriage, and to believe that that relationship between men and women which is free of courts and statutes is equal or superior to that which is entered upon soberly and publicly under legal bonds to definitely defined obligations, is a mistake that implies a fatal lack of moral balance. "He is not free who can do what he wills," says St. Augustine. He only is free who can will what he ought, responds our modern thought. The marriage law may be faulty; it may be one-sided; it may be in some particulars a dead record of ancient and outworn ideals; it may contain things that the moral sense and legal practice should get rid of at once—but the conviction that law and not personal caprice should rule the most vital of human relationships is vastly more important than any manifestation of that law and should be held inviolate at all times. As Milton himself says, to "let upstart passions catch the government from reason" is but to confuse moral issues; and the reason of the race has always embodied itself in laws to which individual wishes should be subordinate.

New thoughts for the new time we need most surely in the realm of law as applied to the family order. To let what Channing called "that bondage to habit which lives on its old virtues" enslave us is foolish indeed. New thoughts and new works for the new days; but above all, in respect to the home which is the central socializing force in human society, a new consecration to the utmost reach of social wisdom and to the most faithful obedience to the social demand upon the personal life.

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IS GOLD REDUNDANT?

JAMES S. H. UMSTED

THOSE who would hold the increased production of gold mainly responsible for the increase in the cost of living should demonstrate that this expansion has not been accomplished by any proportionate increase in the needs of consumption of the metal. As a rule they avoid this side of the question. It is easy to point to the higher range of prices for commodities and to the fact that gold output has risen. But there is to-day a more complicated and elaborated system of social connections, including those wholly foreign to the machinery of banking, than existed when the relations between the increase in gold supplies and in prices of everything measured in gold were reduced to a more or less precise economic dictum. If we can show that the absorption of the current supply in the arts and industries has made such progress in recent years as to leave a surplus not sufficient to provide for reasonably growing monetary needs, we must dismiss the idea that for the last decade or two the cost of living has been enhanced by a decrease in the purchasing power of gold. In a previous article * the writer touched incidentally upon the extent and variety of the demand but devoted himself principally to indicating, from the latest available statistics, the recent tendency of gold production to decline, not in absolute amount, but in ratio compared with former years. Even the great Transvaal field has fallen from a gain of thirty per cent. in 1905 over the preceding year to one of only ten per cent. in 1911.

It is proposed in this article to bring to the front the often neglected side of gold consumption. Consideration of output alone has made the talk of the effects of the increased supply almost a vulgarism. At the meetings of the Paris Société de Statistique earlier in the year, M. Alfred Neymarck somewhat impatiently said: "On every side we hear it repeated like an axiom or truth needing no proof that, if prices go up, it is because there is too much gold. No one seeks to know whether

* *High Prices and the Gold Supply,* in the July number.

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this rise in prices has not economical, commercial, financial, climatic causes; whether it is not due to the development of consumption, to the increase of coal production and metal working, to the increase of general comfort, and to other causes still. No, the rise in prices, they all cry in unison, is due to the abundance of gold production." The statistics at the command of the economic student with regard to gold consumption were deficient, compared with those now available, when, in the eighties, Professor Adolph Soetbeer contributed to monetary literature his series of statistical studies which became the standard authority for the periods covered by his investigations. Yet even in his day they were sufficiently reliable to confront Dr. Soetbeer with many inconsistencies in his effort to show the relations between the demand and supply. This statistician was the first to allow adequate weight to the industrial uses for which both gold and silver were needed, and he found, also, that the records of coinage over large periods gave figures exceeding the figures of recorded production. He was forced to assume the existence of a "latent reserve" of the precious metals in the possession of civilized countries in order to avoid reaching the conclusion that the amounts used in coinage (as ascertained from Mint records) and the amounts reasonably estimated as absorbed in the arts, exceeded the actual output of the metal. In his *Materielen,* prefacing the chapter on "The Consumption of the Precious Metals," he says:

"We were compelled to resort to this expedient in order to explain the discrepancies which appear for specific periods between the production of gold and its use, a discrepancy which remained after the most careful investigation. By the term 'latent reserve' we mean those quantities of the precious metals which are neither in circulation nor a reserve for credit obligations, which are not used as plate, ornaments, or for any direct use, but are retained for the time being without any real use. In this category we must place coins no longer legal tender in the hands of private persons, relics of coin in countries having a depreciated paper money, hoards of coin in general, and articles of gold or silver which are not used and are kept more or less hidden. This latent reserve is, of course, not a fixed amount,

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but increases or decreases in every country from time to time. As industrial conditions change, new amounts flow into it, or are taken out of it, for circulation or for use in the arts. The coin in the hands of mine owners or of speculators belongs, for the time being, to the same category."

As explained in detail in the previous article in THE FORUM, the modern statistics of industrial consumption are more complete since 1893 than at any previous period of monetary investigations. The discrepancies that confronted Dr. Soetbeer in his day have become almost too great, it would seem, to be explained entirely on the theory of the "latent reserve." The United States Mint statistics from 1893 to 1910, both years inclusive (a period covered by more accurate estimates of industrial absorption, and embracing the great influx of the precious metal from the Transvaal), make the following comparisons:

World's gold production		$5,604,641,100
World's coinage	$5,825,409,614	
Recoinage deducted	753,914,758	
Net coinage of new material		5,071,494,856
Balance for the arts		$533,146,244
Consumption in the arts		1,378,819,200
Deficit in production		$845,672,956

Nearly nine hundred million dollars is an amount too great on its face to be explained on an hypothesis. If the reader will exert some patience, an effort will be made to reduce the discrepancy as far as possible by a process of minimizing consumption and maximizing the out-turn. An explanation, confined within limits practicable to a full appreciation of the concessions, must be permitted and the principles of it will be applied to the subsequent statistical treatment. First, as to production: Many statisticians insist that it is underestimated by ten per cent. Notwithstanding the greatest precautions there is some loss of gold

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by the reporting mines through miners' theft, as well as a failure to put all the product through the mints or assay offices, while, perhaps, there may be errors or suppressions of the facts in the returns from mines and private smelters. For instance, *The Engineering and Mining Journal* of New York, in an article on the gold production of Russia, of date of January 29, 1910, said: "It is usual in estimating the production to allow ten per cent. for gold concealed or not delivered to the Mint. Many engineers who have had experience in that country (Russia) think that the allowance is too small." Let us, in subsequent analysis, allow an addition of ten per cent. to the recorded output as a fair average for the world.

In the matter of coinages we shall consider only the net coinage of new material, arrived at by deducting recoinages from the coinage statistics, which always include old material or old coins that pass through the Mint. From 1873 on, the United States Mint has collected the recoinage returns from all countries reporting. Previous to the year named the data were uncertain, but in discussing estimates of an earlier period it will be generous to allow twenty-five per cent. for the recoinage figures—a percentage greatly in excess of that recorded for the period 1893-1910, for which the most reliable estimates and reports are available. Then there is the question of the extent to which coins are melted down and used to meet the industrial demand. This must be largely a process of pure approximation, for there are no comprehensive world's statistics of the use of minted material in this way. The value of domestic coins used in the industries of the United States—of which very close account is kept—averaged from 1880 to 1909 not quite eighteen per cent. of the total amount of material, ignoring old plate, jewelry, etc. Foreign bullion was utilized largely, but the value of foreign coins consumed industrially was a mere trifle. Canada uses few foreign coins in the arts: in 1909 the amount was $100,000 out of a total industrial consumption of $1,470,000. In European countries, however, the proportion of coins put into the melting pot is much larger than in America. For instance, the German Government reported for the census of 1907 the amount of gold employed in the industrial arts at 51,397,000

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marks in German and foreign coins and 40,219,000 marks in fine gold bullion, showing a percentage of coins used of over fifty per cent. Austria-Hungary in 1909 used 6,112,274 ounces in the arts, of which 1,751,124 ounces were in domestic and 1,862,355 ounces in foreign coins, a total of 2,498,795 in coins, or over fifty-nine per cent. of the entire industrial consumption. Switzerland in 1909 got a little less than fifty per cent. of her industrial needs from coins. Madagascar for 1909 used 325,799 ounces in foreign coins out of a total of 726,780 ounces taken by the arts, or much less than fifty per cent. In the answers to our Government's inquiries, in many cases, there is no specification of the character of the material used. The light percentage of coins melted down to furnish the $33,756,600 gold absorbed by the United States in 1910 in the industries tends to offset the heavy percentage of such use of coins by Germany, with an industrial consumption of $15,536,000, or Austria-Hungary, with $5,750,000 in 1910. It seems, therefore, most liberal to concede that of the world's industrial consumption thirty-five per cent. is derived from the supply of foreign or domestic coins by the different nations on an average.

A final word. The last sixty years are divided into three periods. The first covers the years for which Dr. Soetbeer's estimates are available; the second, those for which in some but not all important respects the data of the United States Mint are on record; and the last, those for which the Mint estimates are most complete on all points. Having thus cleared the ground, here is the showing that the production and consumption of gold make from 1851 to 1910, both years inclusive:

Soetbeer Period, 1851-1872

World's gold production		$2,827,150,000
Add ten per cent. for underestimate		282,715,000
Total production		$3,109,865,000
World's coinage	$3,366,270,238	
Recoinages (est'd twenty-five per cent.)	841,567,560	
Net new coinage		2,524,702,678
Balance for industrial use		$585,162,322

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Industrial consumption	$675,438,000	
Obtained from coins (est'd thirty-five per cent.) ..	236,403,300	
Net industrial needs		439,034,700
Surplus product, twenty-two years		$146,127,622

Here is an average annual accretion of "free gold," so to speak, of $6,642,165. In the next table the statistics of the United States Mint are used, except for the industrial consumption, for which we must be content to apply an arbitrary estimate of $50,000,000 a year, that being, by the way, $5,826,400 less than Dr. Soetbeer's annual average from 1871 to 1885:

First Mint Period, 1873-1892

World's gold production		$2,188,757,600
Add ten per cent.		218,875,760
Total production		$2,407,633,360
World's coinage	$2,944,361,920	
Recoinages (actual reports)	646,454,101	
Net new coinage		2,297,907,819
Balance for industrial use		$109,725,541
Industrial consumption (est'd)	$1,000,000,000	
Obtained from coins (thirty-five per cent.)	350,000,000	
Net industrial needs		650,000,000
Deficit product, twenty years		$540,274,459

These figures therefore give us an average annual deficit in production to supply the Mints and for the arts of $27,013,723.

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Second Mint Period, 1893-1910

World's gold production		$5,604,641,100
Add ten per cent.		560,464,110
Total production		$6,165,105,210
World's coinage	$5,825,409,614	
Recoinages (actual reports)	753,914,758	
Net new coinage		5,071,494,856
Balance for industrial use		$1,093,610,354
Industrial consumption	$1,378,819,200	
Obtained from coins (thirty-five per cent.)	482,586,720	
Net industrial needs		896,232,480
Surplus product, eighteen years		$197,377,874

An average annual surplus over the Mint and industrial demands of less than $18,000,000 is thus shown for the period of the world's greatest output!

The net results for the sixty years covered by the foregoing tables resolve themselves as follows:

Surplus, Soetbeer period, 1851-72	$146,127,622
Surplus, 1893-1910	197,377,874
Surplus, 40 years	$343,505,496
Deficit, 1873-1892	540,274,459
Net deficit, sixty years	$196,768,963

It is more than likely that the high estimate of thirty-five per cent. allowed for the use of coins in the arts should be reduced by at least five per cent., which would add $150,000,000 to the almost $200,000,000 which the world's supply could not meet after it had furnished the material for the net coinages, as

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recorded, and for circulation or banking reserves. It would cut nearly in half the surplus for the third period: that of the greatest accretion in gold production. Considering every concession that has been made in bringing the figures of consumption down to the lowest estimates, is it not a fair inference that in the last half century or so we actually have been drawing on pre-existing supplies—on the $2,800,000,000 world's stock of gold estimated by Tooke and Newmarch to be in existence in 1850? At the very least, would it not be reasonable to admit that even the $200,000,000 surplus product of the last eighteen years fails to establish the fact of any redundancy of gold supplies? If we ignore earlier estimates and confine ourselves to this latter period, for which a reasonable degree of accuracy in records will surely be allowed, what must we infer? The growth of industrial consumption is a fact evident in the world's accumulation of ornaments and objects of utility; it would be admitted by any practical jeweller or other manufacturer who has actually handled the material needed for his business. Yet the records show that the Mints, unlike the case with silver in late years, have not been underfed. It may even be asked whether, if the purchasing power of gold had materially diminished—if the margin between cost and profit had been much reduced by the rise in articles for which the metal is exchanged—there would not have been some restraint on the activity of production? Herein, it is true, enters the question of the actual cost of mining, but that is one so difficult to approximate on any extensive scope that it cannot be discussed within allowed space limits.

But let us view the question—the available data—from another angle. Turn to the great factor of the absorption of gold by the Far East. Regardless of early records of demand and supply, the situation to-day is one that is looming big in this respect. We shall find the most satisfactory statistical records bearing on this point in those relating to the Great Eastern Dependency of Great Britain. The phenomenon of hoarding of the precious metals by India has long been a monetary and social mystery. The absorption of silver has been the more prolific subject of economic discussion, but in late years its importance

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has been fairly overshadowed by the evidence of the disappearance of the gold supplies of the Occident among the scores of millions of the Indian Peninsula. Near the close of the Seventeenth Century a Frenchman, Bernier—a traveller whose observations in the Orient were so esteemed that the great French finance minister, Colbert, asked of him a report on the commercial relations of India—published a book of travels in which he tersely and vividly summarized this immemorial characteristic of the Orientals: "The gold and silver of the world, after circulating for some time, finally flow to India, as into an abyss from which there is no return."

Dr. Soetbeer estimated the net flow of gold to the East (a distinct loss to the monetary uses of the West) from 1851 to 1885, both years inclusive, at 660,000 kilograms, or $438,636,000, a yearly average, say, of about twelve and one-half millions. Last year the net imports of gold by India were nearly $100,000,000! In the last ten fiscal years (according to the official returns of the Indian Government) the overseas imports and exports of gold (the movement by land is negligible) for private account were as follows, the figures used being given in Rx (that is, tens of rupees):

Year ended March 31	*Imports*	*Exports*	*Net imports*
1902.....	8,297,621	3,366,479	4,931,142
1903.....	13,146,655	3,677,392	9,469,263
1904.....	20,131,175	3,802,678	16,328,497
1905.....	21,811,975	3,698,590	18,113,385
1906.....	14,742,972	5,290,983	9,451,989
1907.....	18,470,782	3,677,343	14,793,439
1908.....	20,734,603	3,384,913	17,349,690
1909.....	8,404,229	3,688,092	4,716,137
1910.....	25,017,522	3,348,511	21,669,011
1911.....	27,890,997	3,915,397	23,975,600
Total Rx	178,648,531	37,850,378	140,798,153

Taking the exchange value of the rupee at $0.32433 in United States currency, the foregoing totals are equivalent to

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$579,410,780 imports and $122,760,131 exports, an excess of imports over exports of $456,650,649, or at an annual rate nearly four times what it was only about a quarter of a century ago. The annual average represents approximately one-tenth of the world's gold output. The last two years, however, average about one-sixth of the total production of the world. The foregoing table shows that gold exports have been virtually stationary through the decade while, with the exception of the fiscal years 1906 and 1909, there has been a largely rising ratio of imports. In fact, the net imports in the last five years were 58.60 per cent. of the total amount for the ten-year period. Nor has this great increase in the importation of gold been at the expense of the silver absorption. In the same ten years the silver imports have been equal to $363,025,452; exports $105,849,840; excess of imports $257,175,612. To make more vivid the expansion in gold absorption in the last two years, it may be stated that in the fiscal year ended March 31, 1911, the net imports were equal to $77,760,063,* compared with $70,279,103 in 1910 and with a yearly average for the first half of the decade of $37,813,165. Taking up the record from where Dr. Soetbeer left it in 1885, we shall find that the net import of gold into India has grown as follows in the last quarter of a century:

	Total imports	*Yearly average*
1886-1901	$160,544,024	$10,034,001
1902-1906	189,065,825	37,813,165
1907-1911	267,584,824	53,516,965
Total, twenty-six years	$617,194,673	$23,738,257

Nor is there any prospect that this drain of gold to India will fail to expand in the future. From the latest report of Mr. R. W. Gillan, Comptroller-General and Head Commissioner of Paper Currency for the Government of India, we may take figures exhibiting the almost uninterrupted growth in the balance of merchandise trade in favor of the British Dependency in the

* Unofficial figures for the calendar year 1911 give the net gold imports at £20,909,442.

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last five years (in rupees): 1907, 686,100,000; 1908, 474,600,000; 1909, 317,600,000; 1910, 706,700,000; 1911, 797,800,000. In terms of our currency, the total favorable trade balance for the five years was $967,411,524, or an average of nearly $200,000,000 a year. The net imports of gold during that period were $267,584,824, or a yearly average of $53,516,965. India's favorable trade balance in the fiscal year ended March 31, 1911, was $258,750,474, compared with $187,809,479 in 1906, an expansion of $70,940,995, or 37.77 per cent. Besides the net imports of treasure, the enormous trade balance to which attention has been directed has been settled by private remittance, bills of the Secretary of State for India, and transfer of securities. It is impossible to obtain data on these points to balance the account, and, in fact, the figures are not needed. It is obvious that, save in years of exceptional famine (and improved internal conditions are minimizing those dreadful visitations) the trade of India will continue to be a magnet to draw British sovereigns by the scores of millions to disappear into the ornaments, hoards and hiding places of the Hindu princes and people.

For it is still evident that the remarkable disposition of this great Eastern population (315,000,000 by the Indian Census of 1911) to hide away the treasure it imports or to melt it down for purposes of ornament and decoration has not yet yielded to the teachings of civilization. It is true that to some extent the sovereign has gone into circulation in parts of India, but in the main that country's gold importations disappear from monetary service. The old order changeth not. Referring again to Mr. Gillan's report, we shall find a most interesting discussion of this matter of gold absorption. He takes the Government receipts as a good index of the extent to which the sovereign has become a medium of exchange, showing these almost stationary figures of the receipts of gold at the Indian treasuries in recent fiscal years: 1907, £2,838,000; 1908, £4,409,000; 1909, £2,748,000; 1910, £945,000; 1911, £3,177,000. In five years the receipts of gold have increased but £300,000! Applying a more drastic test, he presents these figures of the gold entering into the receipts at the Post Offices and Railways of India:

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	Post Offices	*Railways*	*Total*
1907....	*£553,000	*£468,000	*£1,021,000
1908....	1,358,000	1,045,000	2,403,000
1909....	1,001,000	710,000	1,711,000
1910....	265,000	134,000	399,000
1911....	638,000	597,000	1,235,000

To quote Commissioner Gillan's own comment on this showing: "The inference appears to be unfavorable. If sovereigns have established themselves in the currency the effect should be cumulative. Year after year a certain amount of gold has been passed out into circulation, and if it stayed there we should expect a progression in the figures, but of such progression there is no trace." Elsewhere, analyzing in detail the reports from the various Presidencies and Provinces as to the use of gold as currency he says: "It appears then that the acceptance of sovereigns is not yet general."

The statistics for the calendar year 1911 indicated a net importation of gold by India of nearly £21,000,000. The unofficial returns for the first five months of 1912 aggregated £16,650,265, compared with £11,657,557 in the corresponding five months of 1911. One of the most prominent London bullion brokerage firms (nor is it *aliunde* to note that the head of the concern—Lord Swaythling—has a brother who is the Under-Secretary of State for India for Great Britain) commented in its market letter, prior to the receipt of the official figures, on this point as follows: "We have frequently drawn attention to the vastly increased importation of gold—coined and uncoined—into India. It would be surprising if the net imports of gold into India during 1911 did not prove to be a record. If so, their continuance on such a high scale—taken in conjunction with the absorption by Egypt, which is also very large—will point toward an insufficiency rather than a redundance of the world's supplies of gold."

If we were to construct a table (after the fashion of Dr. Soetbeer's in his *Materielen*) of the probable disposition of the world's gold supply in 1910 (we shall use this year because

* For second half year only.

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nearly all the estimates for 1911 are subject to important revision), we shall find a result approximating the subjoined exhibit, United States Mint data being used except in the abrasion loss estimate and the Eastern absorption, and with ten per cent. allowed for underestimate of output:

Production of gold in 1910		$454,703,900
Add ten per cent.		45,470,390
Total assumed production		$500,174,290
Loss of recorded production by abrasion and accident, one-half of one per cent.		2,273,519
Net gold available		$497,900,771
Used in the arts	$111,848,500	
Net flow to the East, based on Indian returns	80,000,000	
Total non-monetary consumption		191,848,500
Balance for money and reserves		$306,052,271

Assuming the population of the Western world (the countries where gold is a dynamic monetary force) to be 700 millions, here would be a year's addition to the supply for circulation and bank reserves of less than fifty cents per capita! But we are confronted with the records of the world's Mints, showing in 1910 an output of coins (less recoinage from old coins or old material) amounting to $428,568,566. Deducting thirty-five per cent. as representing the drafts on coins in the industrial consumption, we should have a net industrial consumption of bullion amounting to $77,251,525, which, if deducted from the $497,900,771 net gold production available, would leave a balance of $420,649,246 bullion available for coinage, or an apparent excess of nearly $8,000,000 in the out-turn of the Mints over the available production of 1910. The strain on the theoretical "latent reserve" in the year named therefore was nearly two per cent. of the available production, and little accords with the idea that there is so liberal an amount of new gold brought

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into use as to influence commodity prices on the ascending scale. Perhaps the following tabular showing will make this point clearer:

Net available production, 1910		$497,900,771
Industrial consumption	$118,848,500	
Obtained from coins (est'd thirty-five per cent)	41,596,975	
Industrial consumption of bullion		77,251,525
Balance bullion for coinage		$420,649,246
Recorded coinage		428,568,566
Deficit in bullion to be accounted for		$7,919,320

One final test may be applied to the developments of the last five years, keenly suggestive of the fact that we have within that time, despite the continued rise in gold production, been losing our stock rather than gaining any new surplus for monetary uses. In the annexed table the world's statistics of production and consumption for 1910 are compared with 1906 as nearly as may be, with the percentage of changes, which will visualize the situation better than words could do:

	1906	1910	Increase	P. C. Inc.
Production	$402,503,000	$454,703,900	$52,200,900	12.97
Industrial consptn ..	93,145,900	111,848,500	18,702,600	20.07
India's net imports .	30,655,636	*77,760,063	47,104,427	153.66
Total consumption	$123,801,536	$189,608,563	$65,807,027	53.15
Bal. for money and reserves	278,701,464	265,095,337	†13,606,127	†4.88
P. c. consptn. to prod.	30.75	41.70	10.95	‡35.60

Were a comparison with 1911 attempted, the showing would be more unfavorable. The United States Mint estimates an increase in world gold production over 1910 of less than three

* To March 31, 1911. † Decrease. ‡ Actual percentage of increase.

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per cent.; a recent estimate by the President of the British Board of Trade makes the gain less than two per cent. On the other hand, the average yearly increase in the consumption by the arts is materially greater (in 1910 and in 1909 it exceeded ten per cent.), while, as unofficially reported, the net imports of gold by India in the fiscal year to March 31, 1912, indicate an expansion of nearly sixty per cent.

Are there legitimate reasons to believe that the demand for gold will not increase faster than the supply? The table last given furnishes ground to think the reverse. So far as the absorption by India is concerned, the steady progress made in developing the resources of that great region indicates that its favorable trade balance will continue to mount up faster than the rate at which the habits of the people are changing with respect to the use of gold as circulation or for settlement of internal exchange balances. At the pace at which the United States is consuming its own wheat crops, we are in danger of ceasing in not many years to be an appreciable factor among the breadstuffs-exporting countries of the world. Such a change would increase Great Britain's dependence upon India for her supply of wheat and thereby expand the latter's credit accounts in international commerce. Our cotton production is too variable not to tend, unless we deal with this crop differently than we have done for long years past, to stimulate the export of Indian cotton. The enormous expenditure by the British Government for irrigation works in its Hindu Empire has increased the stability of production in India in recent years, so that there follows no such disaster when the monsoon fails, partially or completely, as occurred on those occasions a dozen years ago or earlier. The interruption to trade by famine is being reduced to a minimum; increased sanitary education and establishment of sanitary conditions are lessening the blight of plague. Even the population is increasing: by the census of 1891 it was 287,000,000; in 1901, 294,000,000; in 1911, 315,000,000, showing a growth of about ten per cent. in twenty years.

The industrial consumption of the precious metal is also bound to expand as the world's population grows, as new regions are opened to civilization and to settlement. The uplifting of

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the masses in the United States—the now well-established tendency to luxury—leads to increased use of gold in jewelry, ornaments and utensils. In this country alone the value of new gold material for manufacture and the arts has trebled in the last two decades. The world's industrial consumption has shown the following expansion in the last ten years, according to our Mint estimates: *

1901.....	$79,417,600	1906.....	$93,145,900
1902.....	75,865,100	1907.....	97,168,600
1903.....	74,556,200	1908.....	88,572,300
1904.....	77,845,000	1909.....	100,506,100
1905.....	82,975,200	1910.....	111,848,500

Here is an increase from 1901 of nearly forty-one per cent. It is immaterial whether twenty or thirty-five per cent. of the amount was supplied from coins: the total is a loss to the monetary supply. As has been shown in earlier estimates, this industrial consumption has absorbed in the last sixty years 3,000 millions out of a gold production of 11,000 millions. At the recent rate of growth, it is not extravagant to say that within a few years the arts will take half the world's gold output, unless the latter enlarges at a far faster rate than recorded in the last quinquennium. It would require independent treatment to do justice to the increasing demands on gold for banking reserves. It is to be remembered that in the last analysis it is not alone outstanding paper against which sound banking principles require an adequate reserve: the coin held by a bank is pledged also to the payment of all demand liabilities. In the case of the United States the gold reserve of $150,000,000 is not solely to be considered in relation to the $330,000,000 of outstanding "greenbacks." Upon it really rests our entire system—conglomerate and mosaic—of treasury notes, national bank notes, silver certificates and silver dollars. For while back of the silver certificates and in the coins is the actual value of the white

* The United States report for 1911, not long issued, contains drastically revised estimates of industrial consumption, erring probably on the side of conservatism. The writer, however, has used the reduced figures in all calculations as to the industrial demand.

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metal, that actual value is nearly seventy cents below the nominal worth. Moreover, any forced sale of the metal would demoralize the market. As regards the national bank circulation it may be objected that it is amply secured by United States bonds; but in the event of a break-down in the gold reserve defence, Government securities would collapse and it might be that but a small part of the face value of this paper could be realized. It is true that this is assuming an extreme and highly improbable case; nevertheless, its conceivability is to be permitted in any argument as to the adequacy of the monetary stock in Government treasuries and private banking reserves. The same criticism applies to the British banking system, which is supported by the credit of the Bank of England plus only six per cent. of ultimate reserve! The world has built up a tremendous mass of credit instruments * and we frequently see, when some event temporarily shatters confidence, a universal scramble for gold with which to rebuild reserves and reconstruct that confidence. And if we continue to preach the substitution of the gold standard among countries which still adhere to a silver currency and standard we shall create all the more demand for the yellow metal for reserves—we shall multiply the needs of it for monetary purposes.

Discussing the silver question in his work *Money and Currency,* Professor Joseph French Johnson said, in its April, 1907, edition, when speaking of the Free Silver arguments of 1896: "The silver man assumed that gold was destined always to increase in value, and that prices, therefore, were bound to continue downward. Yet even while he was making his argument forces were at work to bring about a change in the value of gold and cause prices to rise. The increase in the value of gold after 1873 was due to extraordinary circumstances, the demand for it having been so greatly increased by its adoption as the standard of prices in most of the civilized countries of the world. That gold will ever again be subjected to such a strain is not possible."

* The annual report of the Director of the Mint for 1911 shows (for the banks of Europe, the United States, Canada, Australasia and the South African Colonies) an increase in notes in circulation from December 31, 1889, to December 31, 1910, of 75 per cent., and an increase in loans and discounts of 164 per cent. Bank loans since December 31, 1899, have about doubled.

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In the light of the statistics of mintage and other consumption; in view of those seeking to establish an absolute gold standard and a gold currency for the 315,000,000 people of India; that there are those who would make a like monetary change for the 329,000,000 people of China—may we not be preparing to put a new strain upon the yellow metal which, in a long cycle, will work out appreciation of gold's value and a general depreciation of prices? Or, if we have no occasion yet to be disturbed by such a possibility, may it not be reasonable to think that, through the investigations of the proposed International Commission on Prices, we may be brought to look elsewhere for an economic explanation of the prolonged rise in commodities—that, as a matter of fact, in the last decade at least, it will develop that there actually has been no redundancy of gold and that there is none to-day, when the vast extent and the complexities of commercial operations are considered?

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SYNDICALISM

The Latest Manifestation of Labor's Unrest

JAMES BOYLE

"SYNDICALISM" is the name of the latest manifestation of labor's unrest. Another term applied to it defines it: "Industrial Democracy." Expositors sometimes give the latter name to the ultimate aim of Modern Socialism, but it has a better and more definite application to the new movement, which, in some aspects of its philosophy and methods, is really a rival to Socialism. In the United States the name of the organization which propagates Syndicalism is the "Industrial Workers of the World," generally abbreviated to "I.W.W." It is admitted by all those who are informed as to the movement,—by advocates as well as by critics,—that it is the most startling form which the proletarian discontent has ever assumed, short of Anarchy itself. Syndicalism involves the most extreme form of trade unionism—but it holds that existing trade unions are useless to secure justice to labor; its ultimate aim is akin to that of Socialism—Collectivism, but it opposes all the differing schools, from the Opportunism of the English Fabians to the "Modern," "Scientific" kind of the German Social Democracy. It demands the absolute rule of the proletariat, —that is, of those of the proletariat who belong to revolutionary trade unions—but it casts aside the idea of the political domination of labor in the legislative field, and has only cynical contempt for the tools of "Direct Democracy," the Initiative and Referendum. It is Anarchistic in that it denies the legitimacy of political organization, of legislative functions, and of governmental authority. But it is even more extreme than Philosophic Anarchism; the latter contemplates voluntary industrial and administrative organization, while Syndicalism implies that all men will—in an industrial sense at least—be under the arbitrary control of trade union groups, acting through executives. Syndicalism rejects political methods and all "reformist" or ameliorative legislation, and substitutes therefor what is called

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"Direct Action,"—that is, the complete paralyzation of capitalism, and the seizure of the absolute control of the productive forces by the workers themselves, through the general strike, using force if necessary to secure that end.

The word Syndicalism has a strange sound to American as well as to English ears. There has of late been a rush to authorities for a definition. France is its place of origin. The French for "trade unions" is "syndicats ouvriers," although the now accepted French word "Syndicalisme," as the name of the new movement, has only been coined within recent years. "Syndicalisme" is derived from "syndical," which is the adjective form of "syndicat."

Standard literature on the subject of Syndicalism is very limited. Until two years ago there was no recognized authority in the English language. The book which first enlightened English readers on Syndicalism was Epstein's translation of *Socialism and the Social Movement,* by Professor Werner Sombart, of Berlin, known to Americans by reason of his sociological studies over here. This book made its first appearance in Germany in 1896, and the English translation of the sixth edition was issued jointly in London and New York in 1909. (An English translation of the third German edition appeared in America, but that edition did not contain an elucidation of Syndicalism.) This is the first work which undertook to give an exposition and criticism in detail of Syndicalism, with the exception of several French and Italian productions, read only by specialists. In August, 1911, Sir Arthur Clay presented some "Notes upon Aspects of Social and Industrial Questions of the Day," in a volume entitled *Syndicalism and Labor.* Owing to the prevailing epidemic of strikes in that country, Sir Arthur Clay's work attracted immediate attention in England, and in a few months it passed through several editions. One of the leading American Marxian Socialists, Mr. W. E. Walling, in his latest book, *Socialism As It Is,* devotes a lengthy chapter to Syndicalism. Besides these three works there is but little literature on the subject available in the English language. There is, however, a number of fiery and somewhat incoherent propagandist and expository pamphlets and weekly and monthly journals

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published both in America and England, and the leading English dailies have for some months past contained many articles on Syndicalism. The London *Times* was the first prominent newspaper to call attention to the actual establishment of its principles in England.

Syndicalism is the outgrowth of the policy of the national or general strike, and of the increasing dissatisfaction with old-fashioned trade unionism and with State Socialism and all the varieties of political Socialism and modern Democracy, superinduced by the ever-developing unrest of labor the world over. Sir Arthur Clay quotes a French writer ("Mermieux") as suggesting that the origin of Syndicalism may be found in a famous phrase of Mirabeau's, when he speaks of "Ce peuple dont la seule immobilité serait formidable." The same French writer also points out that at the Congress of the International Labor Association, held at Brussels in 1868, it was declared "that if production were arrested for a certain time society could not exist, and that it was only necessary for producers to cease to produce in order to make government impossible." So also "Mermieux" quotes the organ of the International Association as saying in 1869 "that the extension of strikes from one trade to another showed the existence of a tendency to develop into a 'general strike,' and that with the ideas of the emancipation of labor then prevalent, such a strike could only end in a cataclysm in which society would be reborn." Although in 1873 the Internationalists rejected the proposition of the Belgian section for a general strike,—because of its impracticability at that time,—yet it strongly recommended the solidarity of labor upon an international basis as a preparation for such action;—and it is of immense significance that Syndicalism contemplates labor organization by industries rather than by crafts not only nationally but internationally, to bring about the domination of the world, not, be it borne in mind, by a Socialist government, but by a purely Industrial Commonwealth, without any form of political organization. This fundamental distinction between Socialism as generally understood, and Syndicalism as it is dreamed of by its perfervid apostles, is frequently lost sight of not only by the general student but even by some Socialist critics.

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There is some difficulty in defining Syndicalism in precise terms, for the reason that there has never been any formal enunciation of its doctrines by any official or representative body, and its full idea has not yet been developed. It is clear that the conception is French, and it is to be noted in this connection that France is the historic birthplace of revolutionary ideas, economic as well as political. Sombart credits Georges Sorel—said to be "the most learned of French Socialists"—with being the first literary expounder of Syndicalism, in his work *L'Avenir Socialiste des Syndicats,* issued in 1897; and to-day Sorel "ranks as the Marx of the new doctrines." Sorel is one of the editors of *Le Mouvement Socialiste,* a paper founded in 1899 by Hubert Largardelle, and now the organ of Syndicalism in France, Largardelle himself being recognized as the leading authority on the new form of industrial revolution. Emil Pouget is also one of the earliest French expounders of Syndicalism. From France the movement spread to Italy, where its doctrines were enthusiastically received by extreme Socialists such as Arturo Labriola and Enrico Leone. Only one prominent German Socialist, Robert Michels, has declared for Syndicalism, and the leaders of the Social Democrats of the Fatherland seem astounded at its startling growth in other countries, particularly in England and the United States. Sombart, who has decided leanings to the orthodox German School of Socialism, discusses the subject in an academic way in his *Socialism and the Social Movement,* and while sympathetic in some respects he is condemnatory as a whole. He believes that a theory of this kind could only have grown up in such a country as France, where the people are blasé, "whose feelings require a very strong stimulus before they can be stirred. . . . Moreover, the only people who could possibly act up to such a system of teaching are Frenchmen or Italians. They are generally men who do things impulsively and on the spur of the moment, men who are seized upon by a sudden passionate enthusiasm, which moves their inmost being and forces them to act at once, men who possess a vast fund of emotion, showing itself quickly and suddenly; but they have little application, perseverance, calm or steadiness." Sombart goes on to argue that Syndicalism, with its anti-political policy, does not appeal

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to the minds of the English or German proletariat. While it is true that Syndicalism so far has hardly made an impression in Germany, Sombart is mistaken as to England, for there the doctrines of Syndicalism have spread like a prairie on fire; and the flame has commenced to blaze out in the United States.

After discussing the philosophical genesis of Syndicalism as being founded on a rejection of political agencies—including Modern Socialism—to bring about the victory of the proletariat, Sombart thus sets out the practical meaning of the movement:

"Syndicalists advocate the formation of trade unions for whole industries rather than for individual callings in any one particular industry; rather a large Ironworkers' Union than unions of boilermakers and steelworkers and engineers. Their policy is to attempt to bring these large unions into federations, in order to combat any narrowing tendencies. For that reason they would do away with contributions, and with strike funds or insurance funds, and they will hear nothing of making terms with their masters. In the same way, they object to any policy which makes for social peace—to compromise in parliaments, to social reform, to humanitarian institutions which are due to the 'social spirit,' and which serve to keep that spirit alive. Indeed, they will have none of the 'nonsensical talk about humanitarianism.' It is war to the knife they preach. The proletarian policy of violence is therefore in the interests of human progress. It is vital to help forward everything that tends to strengthen the 'will to revolution,' to lay stress on all that accentuates the class differences between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and to stir up the hatred of the proletariat against the existing condition of things. The most effective means for doing all this to-day are strikes."

It is explained that the Syndicalist strike must not be a business-like matter, entered upon after weighing the advantages and disadvantages; "it must burst out spontaneously as a result of the provocation of the masses. Nor must it be dependent upon the carefully saved subscriptions of the workers. It must draw its strength entirely from the capacity to make sacrifices; and as to assistance, it must look to the support of other groups of workers who are prepared voluntarily to help those on strike.

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Any strike is thus a means of kindling revolutionary passions, but the general strike, the grève générale, serves such a purpose in the highest degree." From the Syndicalist viewpoint the means of production can only pass from the capitalists into the hands of the proletariat through the general strike. The Syndicalists, Sombart states, regard the general strike as "the symbol of the social revolution; for them, it is equivalent to Socialism." Sorel says that the day is perhaps not far distant when the best definition of Socialism will be "General Strike." An organic part of Syndicalism is anti-militarism. Syndicalists aim at the utter demolition of the machinery of the present "Capitalist State," and they claim that the army is the force which supports this organization; consequently they seek to undermine and destroy the army.

The London *Times* has given a definition which is generally accepted as authoritative: "The aim of Syndicalism is to hand over the means of production and distribution to the trade unions whose members now operate them, so that each union will control its own means of livelihood in the common interest, and the workmen thus secure the whole product for themselves." It is no doubt true that in its full conception Syndicalism has as yet been accepted only in France by any considerable number of working-men, but it is also true that its doctrines are being boldly advocated in both England and the United States.

The leader of the great English strikes in 1911 and 1912 was Tom Mann, who was sentenced to jail for inciting the army to mutiny—that is, he advised and urged soldiers not to fire on rioting mobs when ordered to do so by their officers. Tom Mann is one of the editors of *The Syndicalist,* and that paper says: "The essence of Syndicalism is the control by the workers themselves of the conditions of their work. To-day the capitalist owns and controls the tools formerly owned by the worker, with the result that the worker is practically his slave. Syndicalism proposes that this control of the technical processes now exercised by the capitalist shall pass to the various groups of organized workers of the various industries. The product which is now the property of the capitalist would become under Syndicalism the property of the community." So likewise the

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programme of the American Syndicalist organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, is to convert the capitalist political State into an "Industrial Democracy."

The latest declarations of Syndicalists confirm the explanation of Professor Sombart that this new form of revolt against capitalism is based on the belief that modern craft trade union methods are futile, and that Socialism is no longer a proletarian democratic movement, but has become merely a political reformist agitation, due to its being directed into political and legislative channels. The American Industrial Workers of the World have taken a position of actual hostility to the craft trade unions, and particularly to the American Federation of Labor; they are organized in an industrial association, upon the basis of the revolutionary class struggle. The constitution of the I.W.W. declares: "Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banners the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'" The first motto is that of the old-style craft trade unions; the latter that of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism, or Syndicalism. The English Syndicalists have adopted a somewhat different attitude toward the existing craft trade unions. While the solidarity of labor is the watchword of the leaders of the unprecedented strike mania in England, that solidarity is not sought by the initial abandonment of the present trade unions, but by their amalgamation into industrial groups, practically, however, reaching the same result as aimed at by the American I.W.W., but by a different method. From his cell in jail, Tom Mann, while awaiting trial for inciting to mutiny, thus forcibly stated in his paper, *The Syndicalist,* the powerfulness of labor when universally organized:

"The Syndicalist, that is, the trade and labor unionist of the revolutionary type, recognizes not only that all changes favorable to the workers must be brought about by the workers, but also that the only correct method of doing this is through and by the workers' own industrial organizations. Organized labor means the control of wealth production to the extent to which labor is organized.

"It is only when labor is partially organized that recourse

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to strikes is necessary; not even the general strike will be necessary when labor is universally organized. Universal organization must carry with it industrial solidarity—*i. e.*, universal agreement upon the object to be attained, or otherwise the capitalists will still triumph; but with solidarity on the industrial field the workers become all powerful."

The Syndicalists hold, according to Mann,—and he seems to speak for all the English "comrades" in this—that the most effective means of securing social betterment for the proletariat is by reducing the working hours. They accept the old Marxian doctrine—now discarded by many of the leading "Scientific" Socialists—of the "iron law" of wages, that is, that "irrespective of what the worker produces, all that the worker on the average receives is the subsistence wage"; and they argue that it is better to get the subsistence wage for relatively few than for many hours of work. Thus, as the argument proceeds, as enunciated by Mann, the problem of unemployment will be solved; and "the same methods will wipe out all low wages, and a further application of the same principle will secure to the workers the full reward of their labor." And this "full reward" is the Marxian amount, namely, everything that labor produces, leaving capital nothing!

Last February *The Western Mail,* a leading paper of Wales, and the London *Times,* startled Great Britain by publishing extracts from a pamphlet entitled *The Miners' Next Step,* which was extensively circulated during the strike then raging in the coal fields. This pamphlet advocated the foundation of an organization of all the workers in the mines, acting under an executive clothed with arbitrary power. The old method of striking to remedy specific minor grievances should be discouraged, but the organization should adopt "the more scientific weapon of the irritation strike." This "irritation strike" is the policy of "simply remaining at work," but so acting as "to make the colliery unremunerative." The pamphlet proceeded: "That a continual agitation be carried on in favor of increasing the minimum wage and lessening the hours of labor until we have extracted the whole of the employers' profits. That our object be to build up an organization that will ultimately take over the

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mining industry and carry it on in the interest of the workers." This programme has been repudiated by some of the foremost British trade unionists, but it is being passionately advocated by the "progressives" in the labor agitation, and beyond question it is very widely approved of by the rank and file.

The relation that Syndicalism will bear to present-day organized Socialism has not yet been clearly indicated. Many Socialists—and they are mostly of the extreme revolutionary kind—welcome the Syndicalists as the advance fighting line of Collectivism. This is true of some American Socialists, such as Haywood and Debs, the radical propagandists of Industrial Unionism, as opposed to the old-style craft trade unionism. William English Walling is one of the foremost American Marxists, of the original revolutionary type, and in his new work *Socialism As It Is,* he is sympathetic toward Syndicalism, particularly in its characteristic of the general strike; he explains that "nearly all strikes are more or less justified in Socialist eyes." He admits that the protests of Syndicalists against the political policy and "parliamentarianism" of Modern Socialists is justified; it is, he says—speaking as a Socialist—"a valuable warning against what its most revolutionary and enthusiastic adherents have always felt is its chief danger." While Debs may not favor individual "direct action"—that is, the use of force in specific cases of striking—yet that appears to be only a question of opportunity, of tactics, for in a recent article in *The International Socialist Review* (Chicago), the fourth-time Socialist candidate for President of the United States declared that: "If I had the force to overthrow these despotic laws I would use it without an instant's hesitation or delay, but I haven't got it, and so I am a law-abiding citizen under protest—not from scruple—and bide my time." And in his *Life, Writings and Speeches,* Debs says: "Get ready, comrades, for action. No other course is left to the working class."

Debs was one of the organizers of the Industrial Workers of the World, in 1905, and that organization is the American presentation of Franco-Italian Syndicalism. In a subsequent speech Debs made this declaration as to the orthodox, old-style "craft unionism": "I aver that trade unionism no longer meets

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the demands of the working class. I aver that the trade union has not only fulfilled its mission and outlived its usefulness, but that it is now positively reactionary, and is maintained not in the interest of the workers who support it, but in the interests of the capitalist class who exploit the workers who support it. . . . There is but one hope, and that is in the economic and political solidarity of the working class; one revolutionary union and one revolutionary party. It is for this reason that the Industrial Workers of the World, an economic organization, has been launched, and now makes its appeal to you as wage-slaves aspiring to be free." And in a pamphlet, *The Growth of Socialism,* he exultantly exclaims: "The new unionism is being heard. In trumpet tones it rings out its revolutionary shibboleths to all the workers of the earth." The proceedings of the National Socialist Convention, recently held at Indianapolis, show that there is great division of opinion among "the comrades" as to Syndicalism. As a rule, the "Intellectuals" (the literary leaders and others not following manual occupations but who are philosophic advocates) in the Socialist movement, are opposed to Syndicalism, not only in America, but in England and Germany, and this statement includes the old-fashioned Marxists as well as the new Opportunist or Revisionist School. The opposition is based both upon the methods and policy and also upon some of the fundamental principles of Syndicalism as a distinctive theory of Industrial Democracy. Undoubtedly the best—if not the most popular—Socialist thought of the world has settled down to the conviction that Collectivism will come through constitutional evolution and not by a forcible revolution, politically or industrially. On this point Socialism is at issue with Syndicalism. The main difference between the philosophy of Modern Scientific Socialism and Syndicalism may be thus stated: Under Socialism all the people would own all the industries, and the community would employ the workers; under Syndicalism groups of workers would own and operate the machinery of production in their particular trade; and under Socialism there would be some form of Collectivist State or Commonwealth, while under Syndicalism there would be no political State, but only industrial control.

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Syndicalists not only disavow "State" Socialism (as do the German Socialists theoretically, while they practically acquiesce in it), as a scheme of the capitalists, but they repudiate all political and parliamentary and governmental action, and even all voluntary social, ameliorative and humanitarian programmes. Sombart says that the Syndicalists criticise the prevailing Socialism of the day as being shallow, weak, and conventional—a mere bourgeois belief, a reformist party without any definite principles, and this has been brought about by Socialism having been directed into the channels of political and parliamentary activity; for when Socialism dropped its class-struggle revolutionary character and became political in its objects, it found that it could only attain those objects by a policy of opportunism and compromise. The French Syndicalists claim that they are but reverting to the original policy of Marx.

The question suggests itself whether, just as Socialism is becoming truly international in its organization, it has not commenced to develop the seeds of decay within itself.

There are already indications that Socialism—young and vigorous though it be—will have a hard experience in the near future, not only with awakened Individualism but with radical Democracy; and it is not unlikely that as Scientific Socialism supplanted Utopian Communism, so will Scientific Socialism in turn have to give way to Syndicalism as an appeal to the proletariat.

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ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL

A Practical Prospectus

ALLEN UPWARD

THE following prospectus is not meant as a contribution to any general scheme of educational reform. It is a strictly practical proposal in the interest of a particular class of boys.

No one feels more strongly than the writer the imbecility of educating the future rulers of a country on lines laid down by mediæval monks. And some experience of charitable work on behalf of those failures of society who receive least public sympathy has yielded concrete proof of the grave injury which the favored classes do to their own children by giving them an education worse in many respects than that provided for the pauper.

But all this has long been admitted and deplored by everyone who has the welfare of the nation at heart; and for such there is no more alarming sign than the utter powerlessness of public opinion to effect any change, in face of the opposition of the mediævalists. In the meantime the only course open to genuine reformers is to create schools of their own, embodying the principles which they think essential. And I cannot too severely reprobate the harsh and contemptuous language used about such experimental schools by writers of considerable influence who profess concern for mankind in the making. In the eyes of a Baconian, one school set up with an honest purpose, and showing the actual working of a new idea in education, must be worth many volumes of theory and criticism.

The present project, however, is independent of the foregoing considerations, because it is inspired by the conviction that no one system of education can be adapted to all boys alike, and that any State or public system must be adapted to the average, or middling boy. It is further inspired by the belief that the greater variety there is among schools, the better chance there should be of an individual boy finding himself in the school best adapted to his needs. Thus it is not put

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forward in opposition to existing institutions, public or private, but as a supplementary scheme designed for a class of boys not hitherto considered.

The programme has been drawn up partly as a response to parents who have complained to me of the stupefying effect on their children's minds of the fashionable school curriculum, and have expressed a wish that I should undertake the education of their children on my own lines. Perhaps I ought to add that I have not approached the subject solely as a theorist, but after an active experience of work among the young, which has included the management of a centre for Recreative Evening Classes, the organization and control of a troop of Boy Scouts, and so on. In addition, I once lived for two years in daily intercourse with the masters and boys of a private school whose pupils were prepared for the leading fashionable establishments; and it was the painful impression then made on me (the principal is now dead) that first turned my thoughts to the problem of higher education.

St. George's School

For boys whose abilities the stereotyped educational routine is not designed to foster.

I

THE SCHOLARS

The first principle represented by St. George's School is individualism. The school is made for the boys, and not the boys for the school.

The entire system is designed with a view to the needs of a particular class of boys, and no boys not belonging to that class will be received, except by inadvertence.

The drawback inherent in public or general schemes of education is that they have to be adjusted to the needs and capacities of the majority. They therefore fail to do justice to the

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exceptional boy in exact proportion as he is either above or below the standard.

This truth has been recognized and remedied already in the case of those boys who fall below the standard. There are numerous schools and institutions, public and private, specially designed for the benefit of vicious or diseased or idiotic boys, in short for the boy who is too bad for the ordinary school. But there appears to be no provision made for the boy who is too good.

St. George's School is intended to fill this gap. It is an attempt to provide the boy of exceptional character and intelligence with an education specially designed for him; designed, that is, to give his faculties free play, and help him to grow to his natural height; and not to cramp him, and keep him down to the level of the majority.

It may be thought that the young "overman" is sufficiently provided for by the scholarship system. But in the first place that system only encourages two faculties in the boy, those of mechanical memory and industry; it positively discourages those of originality and self-education. In the second place that system does not really afford the scholar a different education from that of the ordinary boy; it merely stimulates him to go faster and farther along the same track. In that way, if a boy has anything in him, scholarship-winning is likely to prove actually mischievous, by tempting him to neglect his natural bent in favor of useless studies on which examiners have set a premium.

II

GENERAL CONDITIONS

St. George's School is named after that legendary Overman, the figure of Light overcoming Darkness, whom the Dark Ages transformed into the Patron Saint of England. The name is meant to indicate the nature of the ideals which will be set before the scholars.

The course outlined below is not a Procrustean bed to which all the scholars are to be adjusted, but rather a menu from

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which each will be fed as he requires. Nevertheless, while every effort will be made to do justice to the differing characters of different boys, no master can honestly pretend that he is capable of doing justice to all the boys who may come under his care. For that reason, if the Master of St. George's School is of opinion at any time after the reception of a boy, that he would be likely to do better elsewhere, he will not be allowed to remain. Such a decision will not cast any reflection on the boy, but will express simply the Master's consciousness of his own limitations.

Boys will be admitted as soon as their fitness for the School is evident, and will be allowed to remain as long as the Master is satisfied that it is for their benefit to do so. In most cases the age limits are likely to be 8 and 16.

The School will naturally be at the outset a preparatory one, but the preparation will be general, and not special. Boys intended for particular careers will pass out of the School at the age at which it becomes necessary for them to receive technical training; and boys intended for the classical universities will be advised to leave sooner or later according to whether it is desired that they should spend some time at a public school, or receive the necessary special coaching from a tutor.

In no case will boys be coached or crammed for any examination; but it is hoped that the education will qualify them to pass successfully any test of a rational character, and that the leaving certificate of the School will serve as a diploma of merit for boys passing direct from the School into active life.

The Master will do his best to advise and assist boys in the choice of a career, having regard to their abilities and their private circumstances. He has knowledge of lads who are earning $2,500 a year in business at an age when other lads are just going up to the universities, and of young men who have left the universities covered with academic honors, only to find the utmost difficulty in obtaining employment. It may easily be cruelty in disguise to let a boy who has to make his own way in life waste five years in the society of rich men's sons, and emerge fit for nothing but poorly-paid drudgery as an usher or Government clerk.

As soon as the funds of the School are sufficient, free admis-

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sion will be granted to the children of parents in distressed circumstances, who seem most likely to profit by the education offered.

Girls will be admitted on the same conditions as boys.

III

THE COURSE

The ordinary course of education proceeds, no doubt rightly, on the assumption that the ordinary boy cannot think for himself; that he requires to have his mind made up for him; to be given as much information, useful or otherwise, as he can digest, but to be trained to think and act on lines laid down for him by others—whether by William of Wykeham or some more modern educationist. The boys who pass through such a training happily may emerge with many valuable qualities, such as integrity, industry, and prudence, but they are nature's undermen, and they are most likely to prosper in subordinate positions, and along regular grooves.

There are other boys in every generation, and must be till the race is exhausted, who have minds of their own, and the fine edge of whose intelligence is only blunted by the ordinary curriculum. These boys require to be led, not driven, to be given reasons rather than rules; to be helped to learn, rather than to be taught.

It is for this latter class only that the course of St. George's School is designed, and therefore it is of a much less formal character than that of the ordinary school. The course may be divided roughly under two heads, corresponding to the two meanings of the word educate—to bring up and to bring out. The *training,* beginning with the body and animal functions, is directed to make the boy a healthy, honorable man, agreeable to himself and others. The *teaching,* addressed by turns to the reason and the imagination, aims at helping him to discover and develop his own faculties, so as to make the best use of life.

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TRAINING

1. *Health.* Active out-door games will be preferred to drill and formal gymnastics, but the scholars will not be allowed to regard games as the serious business of life, at school or afterwards. Scouting and exploration will be combined with education in geography, history and natural science.

2. *Manners.* It will be taken for granted that every boy wishes to be a gentleman, and to be taught how to become one. In the early years of school life good behavior will be enforced by corporal punishment in the case of boys whose character requires it. As fast as the scholar grows able to understand them, the higher motives which should inspire conduct will be explained to him; and if they prove insufficient, he will not remain at the School.

3. *Ethics.* At a suitable age the scholar will begin to receive practical instruction and advice on the conduct of life. The character of the world in which he has to play his part will be explained to him without cant on the one hand, or cynicism on the other; and he will be warned against the pitfalls that await him in business, in society, and in his own character.

Throughout his school life each scholar will be invited to come to the Master at least once a week, and to confide his troubles and difficulties to him in the character of a friend. The purpose of these talks will not be to extract confessions of wrongdoing from the boy, but to comfort and cheer him with the knowledge that the Master cares for him, and wants to understand and help him.

TEACHING

1. *Practical Accomplishments.* As much time as is found necessary in each individual case will be given to the strictly necessary tasks of reading, writing and reckoning, to which singing, drawing and typing will be added in most cases. Boys not of a mathematical bent will not be asked to take up algebra or the more advanced rules of arithmetic. Geometry will be taught in the practical forms of drawing and mensuration. A

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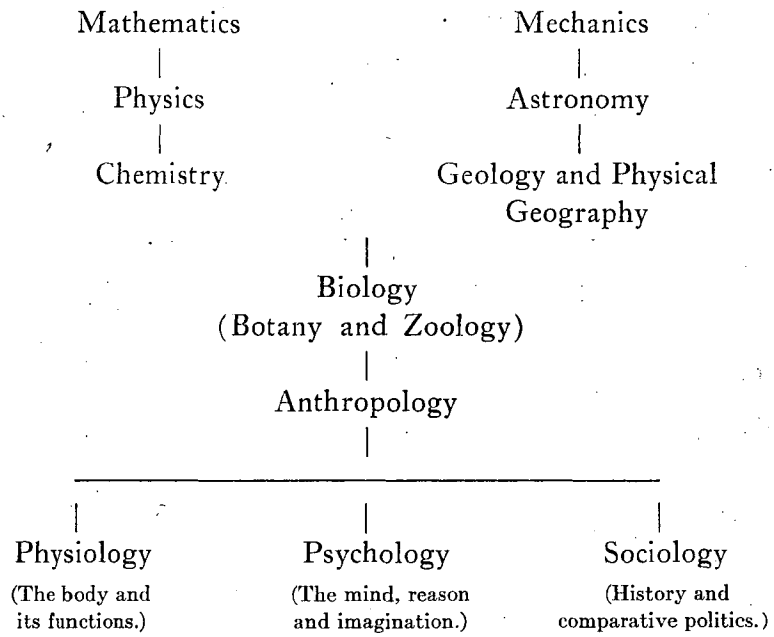
knowledge of weights and measures will be imparted, as far as possible, in concrete form, and not by means of tables.

French and German will be taught in conversation until such times as the scholar himself feels the need of grammars and vocabularies. Boys who show an aptitude for these or other languages will be strongly advised to pass some time at a school in the countries where they are spoken.

Latin and Greek will not be taught except in connection with English philology.

2. *Knowledge.* The scholar will receive a general introduction to the field of knowledge, according to the following plan, and will then be aided in studying those subjects which most appeal to him:



3. *Cultivation.* True cultivation must begin with the language in which the scholar thinks. In learning to express himself clearly he learns to think clearly. The English language is fortunately free from anything worth learning in the shape of grammar, but its duplicate vocabulary, half Dutch and half Latin, renders philology a very important part of education.

Literature should form rather the recreation than the task

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of an intelligent boy. The scholar will be advised and assisted in the choice of books, and his critical taste will be aroused in due course; but he will not be asked to encumber his mind with the rubbish of scholasticism.

The history of his own country will be studied in connection with that of Europe and the world. The scholar's memory will not be burdened with useless dates and names, but he will be taught to think in centuries, and to remember events by their logical connection with each other.

On approaching modern times the scholar will require some explanation of the great controversies, religious and political, that have divided, and still divide, his own and other nations. Very great care will be exercised to put the facts before him with fidelity, and the principles involved with fairness, so as to guide, but not to influence, his future choice among competing sects and parties. The Master's aim throughout will be to lead each boy to select the associations in which he can be happiest and most useful to himself and others, and he will consider that he has failed in his object if his scholars are found hereafter all holding the same opinions and pursuing the same ends.

Confucius was once asked why he had given contradictory instructions to two different disciples. He explained, "The first was too slow; therefore I urged him forward: the second was too hasty; therefore I held him back." That is the whole secret of education, considered as an art, and not only a science; and in so far as it is an art, what is best in it must elude the theorists and the training colleges, and the true teacher must be born, not made.

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DRY-FARMING

Two Letters

[The following letters are clear and self-explanatory. They seem of such interest to a growing section of the community that full publicity is desirable.—EDITOR.]

To the Editor of THE FORUM.

DEAR SIR: I have been greatly interested in reading an article which appeared in THE FORUM'S May issue, under the caption of *The Golden Fleece,* from the pen of Paul S. Richards, who signs himself a Wyoming sheep-man.

As Mr. Richards is a sheep-man and the writer is not, it would be distinctly out of place for me to criticise any of his statements in regard to the sheep and wool situation in Wyoming or in the West; but as Mr. Richards is evidently, from his own statements, quite ignorant of the facts in connection with dry-farming and the development of this system, and as I do know something of the facts, I take the liberty of criticising in the most severe terms the attitude of Mr. Richards toward dry-farming. While there is a shadow of the truth in the writing of Mr. Richards, his statements are so devoid of accuracy that I believe that it is due to the readers of THE FORUM to know the facts in the case.

Never in the history of the development of dry-farming or of the West itself has there been any statement made by any person presumed to have good judgment, that the rainbelt line was moving westward, although the line of civilization—of actual farming—has moved westward in response to the cry of the people for more land. The invasion of the actual farmer into the West was an affront, and seems still to be an affront to the livestock man of the old school. Mr. Richards might have gone further in his statement and have shown how hundreds of homesteaders have had to *fight* for their rights to prevent the invasion of their homesteads and the destruction of their crops by livestock. He might have told how the homesteaders were frightened away from the West, or from their established prop-

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erty, and how, with a few exceptions, they failed ever to secure reimbursement for what to them was the most serious loss.

It is true that the open range has gradually disappeared in the West, and that in many districts where the cattle and sheepman reigned supreme until a few years ago, quarter sections, half sections, and sections are now under the fence and all are partially under the plow. During this period of transition from the old conditions to the new, there were a few "pirates of finance" who organized colonization and immigration companies, and who did persuade settlers to come into the western States and locate upon the barren prairies for a profit to themselves; but not all of the men who sold land in the West and who encouraged the development of these very lands were dishonorable, any more than all of the livestock men were dishonorable. It is also true that thousands of families came into the sub-humid territory unprepared financially to meet the hardships of the pioneer conditions before them and not a few came ignorant of the exact methods that must be adopted in order to insure successful crops.

A certain percentage wins. But is this not true of every line of business, be it farming, banking, or manufacturing? The progressive pioneers who intelligently studied the situation as regards the production of crops on the plains at once educated themselves, studied the methods of their successful neighbors, attended farmers' institutes, read the latest agricultural literature of the day, equipped themselves with proper implements and seeds, and took good care of their soils and crops; and most of them have won and are well satisfied.

When Mr. Richards makes a statement that crops cannot be produced at an altitude of 5,000 feet, even with scientific soil culture, and that it takes irrigation to produce a crop at that altitude, he proves his ignorance of the facts, for many of the best crops in the West are produced at an altitude of from 5,500 to 6,750 feet; some of the best corn in the world has been produced at an altitude of 6,500 feet and these ranchers are producing an average of 50 to 65 bushels per acre annually at this altitude.

It is true that the past three years have been years of

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drought, but it is as true that in years of drought when the dry-farmer fails the livestock man raises no fodder for his livestock. When nothing can be produced under the plow, owing to excessive dryness of the soil and air, nature will produce nothing on the open range with which to feed the livestock running at large there. It would seem quite out of place in Mr. Richards' plea for help for the sheep-man for him to gloat over the fact that dry-farmers have met a series of dry years.

In the face of these continued drought years, thousands upon thousands of dry-farmers have successfully operated their ranches, because of the fact that the scientific farmer of to-day holds his moisture in and carries it over year after year; and yet thousands of failures have occurred because of two conditions: the first, that some of the older settlers of the district have failed to utilize the methods so necessary to success; second, that some of the new settlers have been unable to get enough moisture with which to start their first crops.

Mr. Richards makes the following statement: "The end of the tragic joke known as dry-farming is only a matter of time." Inasmuch as every year increases the acreage of the dry-farming tillage, and as every report given by practical and successful farmers who are following dry-farming methods in detail proves that crops are increasing and quality improving year after year, and inasmuch as every fact disproves the statement of Mr. Richards, it seems that any man, be he sheep-man or farmer, Easterner or Westerner, would think twice and investigate more thoroughly before making a statement that two or more seasons like 1910 and 1911 would result in "making dry-farming a misdemeanor, and the disseminating of dry-farming literature a felony under the penal code." This illustrates the ignorance, and something more than ignorance, displayed by thousands of Westerners of the old school.

The writer does not defend the act of dishonest land men who may, from time to time, have induced settlers to move into a territory where farming is quite impossible, owing to climatic and soil conditions, and it would be quite impossible to deny that the open range is fast disappearing; but the fact remains that

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millions of American citizens must find profitable homes upon the farming lands of the West, if at all, and that it is the duty of the people of the West to open up to profitable occupancy every acre possible to put under the plow for the production of food-stuff and the support of contented citizenship. It would be quite un-American to advocate that the old condition of the West should again pertain, and if our nation is to progress, as it must to meet the ever changing conditions, we must make homes for the people.

Mr. Richards makes the statement that irrigation is necessary in high altitudes; but he forgets that when the last drop of irrigation water has been impounded and distributed in the ditches, but fifteen per cent. of the agricultural West will then be under irrigation influence. Would he and the old school Westerner hold that fifteen per cent. of the West should be occupied and operated and that the eighty-five per cent. remaining without irrigation water should be allowed to return to the public domain for the benefit of the cattle and sheep-man? We think not, for the average sheep-man is a good business man and therefore quite sane.

Agricultural rainfall and soil maps of the various western States, and statistical reports combine to show that sixty-three per cent. of the entire agricultural acreage of the States west of the Missouri River can be operated exclusively under dry-farming tillage methods; but it is evident from these same reports and maps and from the history of farming in the West that no farmer can expect to succeed year in and year out, unless he consistently and persistently utilizes the methods of tillage, seed-breeding, management and crop rotation, which have been proved by thousands of farmers to be necessary under the local conditions.

Hilgard, of California; Shaw, of Minnesota; Widtsoe, of Utah; Campbell, of Nebraska; Hinman, of Colorado; Bainer, of Texas; Watson, of Wyoming; Farrell, of Idaho; Linfield, of Montana, and hundreds of experts have, by their demonstration, experimentation, and assembled reports shown conclusively that dry-farming properly followed is the highest type of agricultural operation, positive in its results, insurance against drought, and

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therefore to be considered successful as a system of farm operation.

The International Dry-Farming Congress is now an organization composed of something like twelve thousand farmers and experts in the United States, and several farmers and experts in Canada, and the various countries of the world. If dry-farming were a fraud, as is positively stated by the writer of the article, *The Golden Fleece,* it would seem strange that thousands of men would travel long distances each year to assemble at some convention city for the purpose of studying sub-humid agriculture and the development of dry-farming methods, for the exchange of reports and to listen to discussions, and to study the great exposition of dry-farmed products which is made annually in connection with the International Dry-Farming Congress. Mr. Richards does not stand alone in the mistreatment of facts in connection with the development of dry-farming, but it is rarely in these days of easily obtained information that any man publicly makes such statements as those which appeared in the article referred to.

I am sure the editor of THE FORUM will give full publicity to this letter, or will have prepared by some person who actually possesses information of a reliable nature an article covering the development of dry-farming and calling attention to the commercial value of the movement as it is now being conducted.

I remain,

Very truly yours,

(*Signed*) JOHN T. BURNS,
Executive Secretary-Treasurer,
The International Dry-Farming Congress.

To the Editor of THE FORUM.

DEAR SIR: I was much interested in the letter of John T. Burns commenting upon my recent article in THE FORUM, a copy of which you forwarded to me.

None will welcome with greater joy than Western stockmen of "the old régime" the proof of his assertion that sixty-

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three per cent. of the acreage of the arid West is susceptible of successful agriculture and that it will grow an average crop of fifty to sixty-five bushels of corn to the acre. As stockmen own the choicest creek bottom lands, which should be worth from $50 to $75 an acre if it will grow such crops, we can afford to sell our stock and retire from business if Mr. Burns can make good. As a matter of fact, however, some of these lands controlling thousands of acres of outside range by reason of the water upon them can now be bought for $5 an acre.

Really, after two summers in which there has not fallen enough moisture to grow a good crop of native grass, it is taxing our powers of credulity rather heavily to ask us to believe that agriculture can be successfully practised under such conditions.

I am not familiar with the dry farming situation in other States, although I recall seeing in the newspapers that in Colorado the railroads and the public had been appealed to to raise a fund to furnish the dry farmers with seed to enable them to put in a crop.

In this part of Wyoming there are very few dry farmers who believe that agriculture can be successfully practised except in connection with stock raising.

Under the beneficent provisions of the Borah Homestead Bill they will be able to prove up on their land within three years from the date of entry, and have five months' leave of absence from the land. During this time the homesteader may be able to make enough money to sustain life during his period of residence upon the land. The acreage required to be cultivated under the Mondell Bill is reduced by this act from one-fourth to one-eighth of the land included in the entry.

However I may have referred to the operations of certain gentlemen in the real estate business, I did not characterize dry-farming as a fraud, but as a disastrous experiment. Had it hitherto proved otherwise, does anyone suppose that the Borah Bill would have been passed? It was passed to relieve the victims of the experiment.

I do not wish to belittle the work of Mr. Burns in the work of developing dry-farming methods. Undoubtedly it is a work

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of economic importance. There are many sections of the West in which the acreage under successful cultivation will be greatly increased by the work of men engaged along these lines.

But I think there is quite as strong a tendency on the part of the men engaged in this work to exaggerate our agricultural possibilities as there is on the part of stockmen to decry them.

Certainly the corn crops mentioned by Mr. Burns must have been raised in a section of the country where the seasons are much longer than they are in Wyoming and under conditions with which I am not familiar.

Yours sincerely,

(*Signed*) PAUL S. RICHARDS.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

THE tumult and the shouting has died, for a little while; the captains and one would-be king have departed; and a singular quietude has been noticed in the country. And in this quietude, so suitable for reflection, the chicanery and recriminations, the failures and futilities, the lost reputations, lost tempers, lost opportunities, have acquired a certain remoteness. They belong to the past, and may be left there, useless, unmourned. They will not be wanted in the future, unless the party organizations are determined to provoke the fatal ridicule and contempt that will sweep them forever from the path of the people.

* * *

FOR it becomes more and more clear that democracy, which is supposed to be still on its trial, is determined to make that trial thorough and unmistakable. The parties have had their day, and the day is not yet over; from the beginning of modern time the Platonist and the Aristotelian, in their various guises and disguises, have appeared in every state, and in every age; mankind falls naturally into the party classification and expresses itself through that party system which has become incorporated, actually if not legally, in every existing constitution. Yet the whole is greater than the part, the people than the party; and the once-sacred Order of Things is sacred no longer, unless faith is justified by deeds.

* * *

HERE and now, as nowhere else in the world and at no other time, democracy has had its opportunity; and, so far, has failed to utilize it. Principle has been replaced by Capital; in the name of the people, the plutocrats govern—the Ryans, the Morgans; the selfish and unscrupulous. But they have grown careless in their cunning. So much they have taken, so little they have given. Contemptuously, they have tightened their grip on city, State, and nation. But the people whom they have exploited and flouted have been steadily learning their lesson—that only the people can enslave the people. Free men by heritage, they have served harsh masters. They will serve no longer. They

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have been setting their women free; and now they will free themselves. And as they study the record of their slavery, they realize more and more their own power: for power is no longer in money or in armies; but in ideas. And these masters to whom tribute has so long been paid—have they produced a single idea that will pass in the new currency of the world? Tom Mann, agitator, firebrand, Syndicalist, outvalues them all; for through the crudity and selfishness of the industrial revolution that is sweeping over England and making so deep an impression on Europe, there shines at least some light of idealism. While our Roosevelts have been denouncing arbitration, the labor leaders of the world have proclaimed internationalism. Here is an idea which will not readily be translated into reality: but it is big—and it came from the people.

* * *

And this is the writing on the wall. When the masses, and not the classes, have begun to think in continents, it were well to discard the petty ways of the past and to face the future without self-deception and littleness. Before us is a vast store of new time, waiting to be woven into history. What are we going to do with it? Over the lintel of an old-fashioned shop in Canterbury, England, is the legend:

"Fair warp and fitting woof
Weave a web that bideth proof."

Where are our master-weavers? Surely we need them.

* * *

We do not need Mr. Barnes, of New York, with his adroit manipulation of the party machine. We do not need the childishness that turned the conventions into riot-spectacles. We do not need a Murphy, to disgrace the chief city of the country by voting its delegation as a unit to suit the schemes of an organization that is a by-word throughout the world. We do not need a Ryan, a Hearst, or any of the inglorious company of self-seekers.

* * *

It will be protested that politics is a science, as well as a game, and that the services of experts are indispensable. We

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have had enough of such experts. We need plain men of the people: not uneducated men—ignorance and narrowness are not necessarily characteristic of the people; but honorable men, with big ideas and big ways. Only with their help can a web be woven that "bideth proof."

* * *

CHAMP CLARK was not such a man. The support of Hearst was a sufficient indication. The Speaker has many admirable qualities, and too many undesirable friends. Mr. Bryan knew well what he was doing when he withdrew his support from Clark. William Randolph Hearst has enough resources, without having those of the White House placed at his disposal.

* * *

Is Woodrow Wilson such a man? We shall see in due time. We shall see him, perhaps, growing with responsibility and experience. Certainly we shall see him trying to justify the confidence that has been placed in him. He can claim, if he will, a support that has not yet been rightly estimated by any candidate. But he must go to the people, not to the politicians. The people are tired of the politicians. They want progress. And if the existing parties cannot guarantee progress, the existing parties may prepare their obituaries.

* * *

THE President has much to redeem, and it is doubtful whether he can make full use of the opportunity extended to him somewhat ironically by fate. Justice Hughes could have been the next President, if he had chosen. He chose, as he has always chosen, what seemed to him the right course; and now Mr. Taft has the chance to succeed himself, if he can make the country forget his mistakes and realize his finer qualities. But he must learn to be a leader, and the best way is—to lead.

* * *

AND Colonel Roosevelt? One should not speak unkindly of the politically dead. Whatever his intentions, his methods made him a menace to the country; and the opposition of all right-thinking citizens was inevitable. He has resented the imputation of demagogism. He had no right to resent it. The painful exhibition which he prolonged till the last moment, has

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cancelled any claim that he might have to the consideration of his countrymen. He attempted to make the progressive movement a synonym for prize fighting. He disregarded every standard of conduct, except his own. And his own was not high, or pleasant. Fortunately, he has dug his own grave. Until he went to Chicago, he preserved, in the minds of the thoughtless, an illusion of invincibility. He removed that illusion. The most thoughtful act of his career was his precipitation of his Waterloo.

It is difficult to see how, even with his great gifts, he can effect a resurrection. The Boulangist frenzy, which he so carefully stimulated, has died away. He cannot harm Woodrow Wilson. He can merely continue his personal attack on the President, and fight for the destruction of the party whose support he solicited. It is a distressing position for an energetic actor. But the play is over. The curtain has fallen. There remains only the possible Epilogue.

* * *

THE new party will no doubt be formed. Already there are rumblings. A good name has been chosen, and some good men have taken up positions in the vanguard. But no new party organized for the purpose of enabling Colonel Roosevelt to stand a little longer in the limelight, can be of any real service to the country. Whatever the ostensible programme, the real motive is personal aggrandizement. Colonel Roosevelt may not be aware of the dangers and indecency of his own methods. He may not understand the opposition that he has aroused: indeed, his wilful degradation of public life, his peculiar preference for the banalities of language and conduct, show that he is scarcely capable of appreciating the attitude of normal men. But, whatever the auspices and the professed aims, he will still continue his appeal to ignorance. The demagogue may change his plans, his platform, his party: he cannot change his essential nature. And so, presumably, we shall see the spectacle of a discredited opportunist attempting to piece together a bubble that has burst. It is an undignified and unprofitable task; but it is no doubt appropriate for a politician who chooses for his desperate venture

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the moment when the Democratic party is united, confident, progressive, and competently led.

* * *

PUBLIC life is full of surprises, and Mr. Murphy, securely intrenched in the wigwam, proud of his honorable activity at Baltimore, proud of his reception by the delegates, proud of his supremacy over his own docile delegation, proud that he embodies, in his own absolutism, the Democracy of New York—must have felt a little pained at the base ingratitude which has suggested, repeated, and persistently proclaimed that the pressing need of Democratic regeneration is to rid the party of "the blight of Murphy." It is a poor reward for a life of disinterested care for others; and surely it was not kind to tell him that he "has made New York an object of contempt and derision in Democratic councils"! He has long known this; but he has continued courageously to carry out his policies for the welfare of the nation. No true friend of unconstitutional and corrupt methods would repeat such an unpleasant truism at such a moment, when there is a new Democracy in the nation, with a new hope and an inspiring leader; when there is a new Democracy in New York, eager to remove the stigma of Tammany domination, and give the State a place of honor, and not of dishonor, in the councils of the country. Tammany, and Tammany alone, stands in the way of success: no party which condones or tolerates such an organization as Tammany Hall will be tolerated by the militant progressives. But Murphy cannot be disturbed by such trifles as national necessity. He has himself to think of.

* * *

THANKS to William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic Convention at Baltimore placed on record an unparalleled and presumptuous resolution: that no nominee of the Interests could be the nominee of the party. The spirit of reform that is sweeping through the country must be curbed, or we shall actually have decency in politics and integrity in the national Government. It is even possible that before long the party which will not accept the nominee of the Interests, will also refuse to accept the financial support of the Interests. The candidate who dare not, and will not, publish an accurate list of the contributors to his

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campaign fund, should be disqualified legally, as he soon will be practically, when the common sense of the electorate realizes that he who has nothing to fear has nothing which he will wish to conceal.

* * *

THE clause in the Democratic platform promising exemption from tolls of American coastwise ships passing through the Panama Canal, will be particularly acceptable to Pacific Coast sentiment. In his discussion of the toll question in the April number of THE FORUM, General H. M. Chittenden emphasized the special importance of the canal to the people of this coast. It means to them the practical abolition of the barriers of mountain and river and vast distances which separate them from the rest of the world, and a nearer approach to those sources of supply and of population upon which the development of their country for a generation to come must largely depend. To see the fruition of their hopes so close, and yet to be robbed of it by the erection of an artificial barrier in place of the natural one now almost removed, would cause profound disappointment and resentment throughout the entire region. But treaty obligations must not be ignored.

* * *

THE clause adopting the principle of a single Presidential term cannot be commended. Too little may be as bad as too much. There is no convincing reason for interfering with the precedent already established; and Colonel Roosevelt's attempt to "corner" the White House should not prevent its reasonable use in the future, to the clear advantage of the nation. We are not so poor in men of Presidential calibre that we need to place the heavy burden of three terms on the shoulders of one reluctant man: but we are not so rich that we can afford to limit ourselves to a single term from a future Lincoln. There is safety and profit in the middle course: less than wisdom in the two extremes.

* * *

THE Reform or Franchise Bill introduced by Mr. Asquith's Government in Great Britain is good in that it accepts the prin-

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ciple of one man one vote, but bad in that it does not accept the principle of one vote one value. The present Administration has initiated a vast amount of controversial legislation, but few of its measures have shown that "large simplicity" which insures permanence. Real reform is not expressed in exceptions, inconsistencies, compromises, slovenliness. There can be no excuse for the radical defects of a proposal which permits constituencies like Rochester, with 31,000 inhabitants, Pontefract with 24,000, or Radnorshire with 22,000, to have the same voting power as Walthamstow with 247,000 or Wandsworth with 253,000. A similar lack of system was shown in the Home Rule Bill, and the Cabinet would seem to have a preference for patchwork measures.

* * *

NEITHER the Irish leaders nor the English Ministers have succeeded in allaying the opposition of Ulster to a Dublin Parliament. The problem is a difficult one, and it will not be solved by bigotry or bitter recriminations. Here, as so often, conciliation is needed. But where it is comparatively easy to find great warriors, it is difficult to discover pacificators. Mr. Redmond has an opportunity to immortalize himself: but he has not the supreme gifts which enable a man to remould his country and reconcile warring factions. Yet he might make a finer effort than he has so far attempted.

* * *

THE value of dirigible air craft in war has scarcely been doubted; but the first clear demonstration is an important and far-reaching event, and the experiences of the Italian dirigible P1 will be carefully studied. The dirigible was used to carry out a reconnaissance during actual hostilities; the enemy's position was exactly ascertained, sketch plans were made, photographs taken, and bombs dropped.

The P1, according to the special correspondent of the Turin *Stampa,* left its hangar at six in the morning, to reconnoitre the Turkish position near Bengazi. It rose over the sea to a height of 1,000 metres, turned eastward over the oasis of Koefia, and satisfied itself that the oasis contained none of the enemy. It

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then turned south toward Sidi Mufta, near which lay the Turkish lines. As soon as the dirigible came near the camp, the Turks opened rifle fire; but this proved futile, and the P1 dropped a bomb among the tents, with instant effect. The Turks ceased their rifle fire and brought their artillery into action. They had previously planted the guns on the slopes of sand-hills, burying the tail of the carriage so as to take the recoil without overturning the gun. They sent their shells up almost vertically, but their fire was wild and harmless, and the dirigible, dropping bombs, proceeded on its course. It completed an exact reconnaissance of the enemy's camp, estimated the numbers of Turks and Arabs, took photographs of the position, and in two hours returned unharmed to the Italian lines, placing the whole plan of the Turkish position at the disposal of the Italian general. The dirigible therefore obtained without cost information for which until recently troops would have been sacrificed unhesitatingly. Of course, the P1 was unopposed; her task would have been very different in a struggle with a Power possessing an air fleet; and dirigibles will no doubt yield before long to aeroplanes capable of carrying a large crew and manœuvring with greater ease in a rough wind. But the present value of the dirigible has been established.

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